NATIONAL REVIEW

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December 2, 1961

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

Congress: Danger Ahead—1962

LUCIUS WILMERDING JR.

Jungle Taking Over

AN EDITORIAL

'Revolt on the Campus'

Reviewed by FRANK S. MEYER

Articles and Reviews by . . . . . THOMAS MOLNAR
WILL HERBERG · ALOISE B. HEATH · HUGH KENNER
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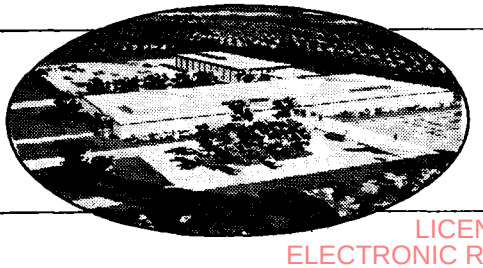

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

EDITOR: Wm. F. Buckley Jr.
PUBLISHER: William A. Rusher

EDITORS
L. Brent Bozell, James Burnham, Willmoore Kendall
Frank S. Meyer, William F. Rickenbacker
MANAGING EDITOR: Priscilla L. Buckley
PRODUCTION EDITOR: Mabel Wood
ASSISTANT PUBLISHER: J. P. McFadden

ASSOCIATES
Frank Chodorov, Morrie Ryskind
EDITORIAL ASSISTANT: David Franke

CONTRIBUTORS
C. D. Batchelor, Colm Brogan, John Chamberlain, John Abbot Clark, Peter Crumpet, Forrest Davis, A. Derso, Joan Didion, Medford Evans, M. Stanton Evans, J. D. Futch, Henry Hazlitt, Aloise B. Heath, Will Herberg, Hugh Kenner, James Jackson Kilpatrick, John D. Kreuttner, Suzanne La Follette, Sir Arnold Lunn, J. B. Matthews, Jonathan Mitchell, Thomas Molnar, Gerhart Niemeyer, Maureen B. O'Reilly, E. Merrill Root, Ralph de Toledano, Richard M. Weaver, Frederick D. Wilhelmsen, Garry Wills

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS
London: Anthony Lejeune
Munich: E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Charles J. McHugh
ADVERTISING MANAGER: Michael M. Mooney

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NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly by National Review, Inc. at 440 Post Road, Orange, Conn. (second class mail privileges authorized at Orange, Conn.). Copyright 1961 in the U.S.A., by National Review, Inc. All manuscripts, letters, subscription orders, changes of address and undeliverable copies should be sent to

EDITORIAL AND CIRCULATION OFFICES
National Review
150 East 35th St., New York 16, N.Y.
Telephone OREgon 9-7330

RATES: $15.00 a year ($8.00 for the 36-page issues, and $7.00 for the 8-page issues published on the alternate fortnights). The 8-page issues are available separately at $10.00 a year. In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

In This Issue . . .

➔ We publish the first serious analysis of a matter about which much will be heard between now and election day, 1962: the failure of a half dozen states to redraw their congressional districts as called for by the results of the 1960 census. **Lucius Wilmerding** explains the meaning of this failure, and shows how it threatens a primary base of our governmental system. Mr. Wilmerding is one of the country's leading scholars in the field of American constitutional and administrative history, and has written books on the Treasury and the electoral college. . . . Portugal's Foreign Minister, Alberto Franco Noguiera, has been visiting here, and **Thomas Molnar** interviewed him at the headquarters of what General de Gaulle calls the Disunited Nations. Senhor Noguiera's rhetoric is in refreshing contrast to the sentimentality, hypocrisy and plain madness that are becoming the norm of UN utterance. . . . And from **Aloise Heath** comes a memento, in quite different though no less refreshing mode, of the trip through French and Spanish byways that she has just completed under the supervision of *NR's* Managing Editor.

➔ A background memorandum prepared by **William F. Rickenbacker** summarizes the history and present condition of Europe's Common Market, currently prominent in the news because of Britain's application and a proposal for our "partnership." . . . **Russell Kirk** carries us right to the very tip of Scotland to glance over the raging seas and stormy moors, and meditate on the gains and losses when men leave their bare, free crofts to join the herds of the cities. . . . In his new but already much acclaimed and much debated monthly column, **Will Herberg** propounds and defends the seeming paradox that Reinhold Niebuhr, who regularly lines up with the Liberals on particular points, is at bottom a conservative of Edmund Burke's tradition.

➔ **Frank Meyer** leads off in the book section with a review of the volume that is making the ADA (and CP) strategists sit up late nights: *Revolt on the Campus,* by the country's youngest, but far from least, daily newspaper editor—**M. Stanton Evans,** frequent contributor to both *NR* and *NR Bulletin.* . . . Three much acclaimed novels are examined by Prof. **Robert O. Bowen,** who finds them of diverse worth but of similarly sorry and destructive vision. . . . **Finis Farr,** whose brilliant book on Frank Lloyd Wright has just appeared at the bookstalls, tells the story behind a name well known to all *NR's* regular readers: THE BOOKMAILER, "The Complete Bookstore-by-Mail." . . . *NR's* poetry editor, **Prof. Hugh Kenner,** uses poet Robert Lowell's translation of Racine's *Phaedra* as pad from which to launch a discussion of the art of verse translation. . . . Whereas the Scriptures in the latest Hollywood model are submitted to **Francis Russell's** acids, and test out as 24-carat vulgarity—and sugar at the BO, of course. ➔

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The WEEK

● On November 18 the President announced that the danger of internal subversion is minimal. Three days later Maurice Klein, the *personnel director* of the *National Security Agency,* was in the headlines for alleged perjury and other criminal offenses in relation to his post. Well, back to the External Menace!

● Guinea has announced that it will expropriate Bauxites du Midi, a subsidiary of Aluminium, Ltd., on November 23—but will give the company back to Aluminium if Aluminium resumes its Boke bauxite and alumina project before next February 24. This is robbery and extortion. Meanwhile, Ghana announces that it will go to Russia for cash if the United States fails to advance $37 million for the hydroelectric project on the Volta River. That is simple extortion. In either case, the so-called "emerging nations" will find that they have taken a wrong road in their struggle for "independence." For nothing could be more obvious than that the robber and the extortionist must *depend,* completely and forever, on the target of their malfeasance.

● Deadpan, without so much as a twinkle in its eye, the usually serious *Economist* (London) publishes in its current issue a photograph of John F. Kennedy and Jawaharlal Nehru, in earnest conversation, with the caption: "Two great minds."

● In the course of the debate in the UN, on the future of Southwest Africa, one speaker commented that this was hardly the time for the UN to take over new responsibilities when it has been forced to raid the treasury of some member organizations—UNICEF (the International Childrens' Fund) was one he mentioned—in order to keep going. Looks like the goblins have been at it again. Those dimes and dollars millions of warm-hearted American children (or their warm-hearted parents and teachers) collected on Halloween for UNICEF to feed hungry tots the world over, were used, instead, to buy guns with which to shoot the Katangese!

● Southern Railway invested a pile of cash in a string of hopper cars so revolutionary that they allowed the company to apply for enormously reduced freight rates for certain feed grains (*i.e.,* for your steaks, pork chops and hamburgers). The Interstate Commerce Commission, which has yet to indicate it has heard of the competition offered railroads by automobiles, trucks, barges, airplanes and pipelines, refused Southern Railway's application and scheduled a hearing on January 8, 1962. Just to make sure that the public won't enjoy reduced transportation costs, the Tennessee Valley Authority has filed a petition with the ICC in which it depicts the horrible things that would happen if the Railroad Monopoly undersold the barge lines. Why, the Tennessee Valley Authority would diminish in importance! Nosirree, don't let the TVA become a depressed industry! Keep those freight rates up! (*Now* who's the Robber Baron, ye gentlemen of the ICC?)

● The other day M. Marcel Molle, a member of the French Senate from the Ardèche region, had a conversation with President de Gaulle, an old friend of his. M. Molle reported *le Général* as remarking, pensively: "Government is difficult; administration is nasty and worrisome; war is hateful; peace is boring." He did *not* add that he was resigning.

● Said Attorney General Robert Kennedy, to the White House Regional Conference in Chicago: "Let me assure you that I did not come here to make any promises—*all that is behind us now.*" Then he told of a dream: St. Peter told him he could enter Heaven if he wrote down a broken promise on each rung of the ladder to the Pearly Gates. Bobby had climbed pretty far when someone passed him coming down—his brother. "What are you doing?" Bobby asked. "I'm going down for more chalk," the President replied.

● Dr. Velasco Ibarra, exiled in Argentina after the armed revolt that knocked him out of the presidency in Ecuador, said the revolt was "Communist-style." Senator Hubert Humphrey, however, reporting from Quito, insisted, "This government as it stands now is a broadly-based government. It is not radical and it certainly is not leftist." The day before, troops were called in to put down the uproar in the legislature. Just a fine example of good, broadly-based, democratic chaos.

● In 1958 Mr. Cecil C. Mitchell and Mr. John Mulgrew, members of the International Union of Machinists, campaigned in California in behalf of a right-to-work amendment. The union expelled them. The two men sued for reinstatement and for damages amounting to $171,500. The Superior Court in Los Angeles denied their suit. But on November 18 the California District Court of Appeal upheld them in a unanimous opinion notable in its regard for individual liberty and in its recognition of the threat posed to that liberty by government-protected power of unions. "The union's power, when considered with its source, imposes upon it reciprocal responsibilities

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toward its membership and the public generally that other voluntary organizations do not bear," said the Court. It is ironic that the District Court of Appeal's interposition between the unbridled power of unions and the liberty of individuals follows by less than a week the statement of Attorney General Robert Kennedy, who said that anti-trust laws need not be applied to unions in view of the "ethical codes" professed by same. It is time the Attorney General were informed that the existence of a code does not imply obedience to it.

● "So . . ." concluded Marshal Tito after a two-hour harangue in which he: attacked U.S. intransigence in Berlin; excoriated the U.S. for its failure to negotiate in good faith in nuclear matters; fumed over a cutback in U.S. surplus wheat shipments to Yugoslavia . . . "so, we'll get wheat anyway—even if we have to buy it commercially." That's telling those finance-capitalist imperialists off, Comrade.

● The pretender to the throne of Spain, Don Juan de Bourbon, Count of Barcelona, has laid down what amounts to an ultimatum to General Franco: either recognize my son Juan Carlos as Prince of Asturias (*i.e.*, heir apparent to the throne), or he will not return to Spain after his marriage next spring to Princess Sophia of Greece. Franco, however, cannot extend the desired recognition to Juan Carlos without, by implication, recognizing the Count as King, which —though Spain is now officially a monarchy—he is reluctant to do. And Franco is not in the habit of receiving ultimata. But the mere fact that the ultimatum has been given suggests the possibility that, this time, Don Juan may have reason to think that Franco will decide that an open break is a luxury he cannot afford. If so, we may be on the threshold of the first really significant development in Spanish politics in many years. It would mean that the long-term strategy of Don Juan's friends within Spain—infiltration of the nation's bureaucracies—has at last paid off in the form of a kind of power that Franco cannot ignore.

● Secretary Abraham Ribicoff of the Healthy, Wealthy and Wise Department says, "180,000 members of the American Medical Association are not going to frustrate the will of 180,000,000 Americans." In what court was the will probated, Mr. Secretary?

● Republicans from twelve Southern states met in Atlanta last week, and predicted (not unexpectedly) that a two-party South is closer than most Democrats are ready to concede. Several state GOP officials complained that they did not have the staff and funds to keep up with the growth of the party in their localities. Georgia Republicans reported they have working organizations in 140 of 159 counties. Texas Republicans spoke of their "resignation rallies," where Democrats announce their conversion to the GOP. Republicans from North Carolina noted that their opposition to a Democrat-sponsored $16.5 million bond issue assured its defeat November 7. Enthusiastic applause greeted speeches by GOP Chairman William Miller, Rep. Robert Wilson and Sen. Barry Goldwater. There was unanimous agreement with Goldwater's assurance: "The election of John Tower in Texas was only the beginning."

● Two weeks ago the United States borrowed $46 million from Switzerland. Last week the United States loaned $50 million to Brazil. Brazil, it seems, was a little short of cash.

● Albania, quips Jack Kennedy, is Khrushchev's Cuba. Wouldn't Jack Kennedy, quips NATIONAL REVIEW, like to think so!

Jungle Taking Over

Two weeks ago, soldiers (though it is distasteful to use the term for that drunken, savage rabble) of the central (Adoula-Mobutu) Congolese government, after having fled from battle with the Katangese at the first sound of rifle fire, ran amok in Luluabourg. They brutally raped fifteen or twenty European women (most of them repeatedly, under the eyes of their children), beat up their husbands and each other, smashed furniture, looted, and staged public obscenities.

Last week, in the Congolese town of Kindu, a couple of thousand soldiers (again, one winces at applying the word) of Antoine Gizenga's Communist-backed Stanleyville regime, with Gizenga present, took time off from their routine orgies to grab thirteen Italians assigned to the UN's air transport service, torture them, butcher them, and scatter the carved-up morsels of their bodies in the Lualaba river—and, most probably, in their stew pots.

The reply of "the civilized world"? As delivered by and in the United Nations, "the conscience of mankind": put an end to "the secession" of Katanga; "bring Tshombe to heel."

But what did Tshombe or Katanga have to do with the rapes, mayhem and arson in Luluabourg? Nothing. And what did Tshombe or Katanga or maybe the fabled Katangese "mercenaries" have to do with the murder of the Italian airmen? Again, exactly nothing. So why take it out on Tshombe and his people?—Don't be naive, friend. Don't you know that Tshombe refuses to kiss the feet of the Emperor of the East River (whether Swede or Burmese)? that he is *not* neutral but committed against the Soviet

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On November 6 the Associated Press released these photographs, obviously of the same action. The AP caption for the top one said, "A Katanga Army deserter is hit with the butt of a rifle by a former comrade in arms at airstrip near Kamina, Katanga Nov. 3." (Note the date and place.) On November 7 the *New York Times* published the bottom photo with the caption, "Beating Before Execution: Troops of Katanga Province, at the airstrip in Kamina. . . ." *to illustrate the surrounding story of violence by non-Katangese troops in Luluabourg* (Kasai province). Nowhere in the entire issue was there mention of the Nov. 3 Katanga action pictured. On November 19 (Sunday), twelve days later, the *Times* published the top photo at top center of page one of "The News of the Week in Review," under the large caption, "Violence in Congo," and over the smaller caption, "In the Congo: A deserter from the army of secessionist Katanga province being hit with a rifle after capture by Katangese soldiers." The accompanying article refers to disorders in the Congo ("massacre of white U.N. personnel by Congolese . . . new threat of civil war") *which pertain to the riots of non-Katangese troops in Kindu* (Kivu province) *the week before*, and nowhere in the article, the section or the issue does the *Times* mention the Nov. 3 Katanga action pictured.

Wide World Photos

bloc and Communism? that he is unwilling to destroy his people's domestic order and well-being by turning them over to a demoralized gang of foreign-manipulated puppets in Léopoldville or Stanleyville? that he believes he can build up his country and serve his people by working alongside white men and women instead of insulting, killing and raping them? Isn't that self-evidently enough to make him World Public Enemy Number One?

So, naturally, the bulk of the UN's combat troops are concentrated in Katanga, pointing at the enemy. They can't be everywhere, can they? So you can't blame them if they were too far away to do anything about minor episodes like butchery in Kindu or rape in Luluabourg. When Adoula's Foreign Minister, Justin Bomboko, appeared before the Security Council November 13, six days after the Luluabourg frightfulness, he, naturally, had no time to waste on trifles. He demanded, solely, that the UN "compel" Tshombe to "acknowledge the jurisdiction of the central government." The proposals introduced by Ethiopia and by Ceylon, Liberia and the United Arab Republic, backed him to the hilt; and Adlai Stevenson added the call for a new UN air force to guarantee the military side of the UN's Katanga crusade.

Spreading out from the poisoned, UN-nourished

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roots in Stanleyville and Léopoldville—spreading even into the editorial chambers of the *New York Times* (as the accompanying picture story makes plain)—the jungle and the ways of the jungle are beginning to recover those regions of the Congo—small enough at their maximum in that vast inchoate land—from which they had so precariously been beaten back. In the year and a half since the tragic day of independence, the Katanga regime has been the lone Congolese rampart against the jungle's advance. Is that, then, its crime? For if Katanga goes, the jungle, in one or another of its forms, seems likely to conquer.

The President Chooses his Enemy

Let it not be thought, in spite of the seeming pattern of Cuba-Laos-Congo-Berlin, that Mr. Kennedy is incapable of firm policy and decisive action. At the Hollywood Palladium and in the mid-Caribbean he proved, last week, the contrary. When once he gets the white of his enemy's eye in his sights, he can shoot as straight as the next man. It's all a question of picking the enemy.

After nearly a year of fumbling, the President seems to have picked. His enemy on the domestic front, he implied in Seattle and Phoenix and made unambiguous in Hollywood, is "the extreme Right": by which phrase he designates all those citizens (or soldiers) of this country who believe that we are at war with the Communist world enterprise, and that we must strive to win that war; all those who believe that appeasement must lead to defeat, that we must resist in order to survive.

And in the Caribbean as in the Congo, he turns his guns—quite literally, his guns—on "dictators": by which term he designates governors who are hard against the Kremlin and Communism, who reject and often despise neutralism, but who—from choice or necessity—do not rule according to the norms of the ADA.

At Hollywood he had no epithets to hurl at the muddle-headed pacifists, cowards and Communist agents who were parading under slogans designed to strip us of our power to resist the advance of the Soviet Empire. All his fire was directed at the Americans who were calling for strength in Berlin, new tests to sharpen our weapons, an end to the training of an air force that may be ordered against us, support for our soldiers, an ousting of softs and appeasers from the posts of power.

In the Caribbean the President sent the cruiser *Little Rock,* destroyers *Hyman* and *Bristol* and *Beatty,* aircraft carriers *Franklin D. Roosevelt* and *Valley Forge* and other ships of the line to cruise off the Dominican Republic and impose his will on a

For the Record

Changing guard: Pennsylvania sources indicate Rep. Francis Walter, HUAC Chairman, may possibly take crack at vacant job of Speaker of House, and reconsider his decision not to run again next year . . . . Some opposition developing to having a Roman Catholic, John McCormack of Mass., as replacement for Sam Rayburn and thus in line of Presidential succession . . . . Since William Miller took over as Republican National Chairman last summer, 31 members of the Washington GOP staff have been fired in efficiency streamlining. Other cuts expected.

Side effect of Soviet squeeze on Finland: It has silenced opposition in Finland to holding of 8th Communist World Youth Festival in Helsinki next summer . . . . Bank of England figures show Britons receive more dividends from investments in South Africa than from any other foreign country but United States . . . . Italian lira will go "hard" at end of year—dropping two zeros (as did the franc a couple of years ago). Change reportedly will include 10 per cent revaluation in respect to the dollar . . . . France Today (Room 1012, 175 5th Ave., New York 10) will publish in its December issue complete details of the secret agreement signed March 27 in Moscow between the Soviet Government and the Algerian rebels (FLN).

It's rumored in publishing circles that Grove Press is spending almost as much in legal fees to keep Henry Miller's Tropic of Cancer on bookshelves as it is making from selling it . . . . Freedomways is new Communist-front quarterly review aimed at converting Negroes to Marxism . . . . Organized at Castle Hill, Ipswich, Mass., a Museum of Freedom, to interest young people in common origins of American and British ideas of freedom and constitutional government . . . . Now available and sponsored by American Friends of Captive Nations, a 26-minute documentary, Revolt in Hungary (produced by Communications Distribution, Inc. 79 Madison Ave., N. Y.) . . . By Nov. 1, the Manion Forum had received over 3,000 applications for Charters to the new Manion Conservative Clubs.

Going the rounds of conservative car bumpers: I miss Ike, I even miss Truman.

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nation that, with all the grave faults of its regimes, has been uniformly hospitable to our people and has stood solidly at our side in every international dispute of a generation. But none of the President's captains ranged the coast, only a few miles away, of the bearded tyrant who has turned his island into an advanced base of the Kremlin.

In Seattle Mr. Kennedy's reiterated plea was for "negotiation": with the Kremlin, that is. There was no word of negotiation with "the extreme Right," or with the Trujillos and Tshombes We must accept, the President went on—here repeating a phrase he introduced some weeks ago—"a long twilight struggle." How perfectly his rhetoric expresses the underlying defeatism of the White House. For what is it, ask yourself, that comes after "twilight"?

Good and . . .

In October, it was revealed that a deal negotiated under the Eisenhower Administration for the sale (at a token price) of U.S. jet fighters to Yugoslavia was to be carried out, and that Yugoslav fighter pilots are even now training at Perrin Air Force Base in Texas. Coming on top of Marshal Tito's performance at the Belgrade conference of the "non-aligneds," this news was too much.

A group calling itself the "National Indignation Convention" hired a hall in Dallas and went to work. For seven days, to ever larger audiences it urged a cancellation of the jets for Tito sale Prominent Texas political figures were telephoned from the podium and asked to tell the assembled thousands of their constituents what they thought of the program. And woe to that politician who took refuge in generalities or buck passing! The voice of the people came over the phone to him—loud and clear—in boos and catcalls if he OK'd the deal; in cheers and attaboys if he opposed it.

Within days, National Indignation groups were blossoming out all over, like daffodils in May: in Texas, Florida, California, New York, masses of people joined for Indignation gatherings. In less than a week, a committee in Miami collected 15,000 signatures on a stop-the-deal petition, drew an audience of 7,500 to a rally. In Los Angeles, the California NIC timed its protest to coincide with President Kennedy's Nov. 18 speech at the Hollywood Palladium. And people turned out en masse. Marching elbow to elbow, from curb to store front, anti-Communist pickets staged a parade nine blocks long down Sunset Boulevard. The National Indignation Convention itself passed out 2,000 placards protesting aid to Tito and to Guiana's Jagan, suggesting that "Chester" be "chucked" and "Adlai, ousted." Unofficial police estimates placed the number of paraders at over 5,000. (The *Los Angeles Times*, the only L.A. paper to publish on Sunday, made passing mention of "a" demonstration and, with rare—but not unique—journalistic enterprise, illustrated its story with a snap of: a handful of Ban the Bomb pickets, who also showed up.)

The Los Angeles show was a big one, but it won't be the largest or the last. There is plenty of indignation to go around.

Earl Warren Proposes . . .

The term "resegregation" has been invented to describe the return of racial separation in schools that have attempted in good faith to integrate the races in accordance with the Supreme Court decision in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (1954). The November issue of *Southern School News*, a publication devoted to reporting on school integration and financed by the Ford Foundation, gives examples of this inverse movement.

Orchard Villa Elementary School (Dade County,

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Florida), previously all-white, desegregated in 1959. By early 1960 it had a 100 per cent Negro enrollment. In September of 1955 the first Negro students entered Creston Hills Elementary School (Oklahoma City). By the fall of 1956 the school was 100 per cent Negro. Dr. Houston B. Jackson, assistant superintendent of schools in Baltimore, says that that city now has more segregated schools than it had in 1954, before desegregation. William A. Kettmeyer, a deputy superintendent of instruction in St. Louis, says that St. Louis also has, probably, more segregation now than it had before it tried to desegregate. Washington D.C. reports the same shift.

The proximate cause of this resegregation is the movement of Negro families into integrated school districts and the movement of white families out of those districts. The ultimate cause is a continuing, deeply rooted community feeling against a total commingling of the races—a feeling that cannot be artificially eradicated by court decree, at least in a society that does not engage in totalitarian methods.

No Question, Doubt or Qualm

What the press accounts of recent events in the Dominican Republic seem to us to add up to is something like this: The Republic's destinies are at present being decided by a young American Consul-General named Hill, who was able to persuade Washington to intervene on the grounds—we quote from Secretary of State Rusk himself, italics ours—". . . it *appears* that [the Trujillo brothers] *may* be *planning* an *attempt* to reassert dictatorial domination of the political and economic life of that country," which is surely the slenderest grounds that any country ever alleged for intervening anywhere.

Hill reveals himself in the accounts as a "straight" State Department ideologue though possibly a little more given than most to going off the intellectual deep-end: he dislikes not only dictators, but, analagously it would seem to Lenin's dislike of the Romanoffs, dictators' relatives as well, and he has so continued matters that not a single Trujillo is now to be found anywhere on the island. All this, of course, by way of "preserving" Dominican "democracy," which as everyone except ideologues knows certainly does not exist, and is certain never to come into existence by the Hill-Rusk road.

What the Dominican Republic has done to deserve so bad a dictator as Mr. Hill, a dictator relying so sheerly on "force" as Mr. Hill, is only one of the many mysteries that the press accounts leave unexplained and made no attempt to explain—presumably because their authors share Mr. Hill's evident belief that there *is* nothing worse than a right-wing dictatorship. But here, of course, they are not only wrong, but twice wrong: To begin with, Mr. Hill is worse. And on beyond Mr. Hill there is something even worse than Mr. Hill, namely, the Dominican equivalent or more probably branch of Castroism. Which is what, failing a miracle, Mr. Hill's democratization, in Dominican conditions, is likely to get you. And we are going to be there to say, as we did about Cuba, "We *told* you so."

RIP, Sam Rayburn

Mr. Rayburn's fine personal qualities have been much written about in the days since he died, and the self-evidently sincere testimonials that have been rendered by men who served in Congress with him elevate his personal reputation out of the clutch of controversy: He was, apparently, a good man, a decent and kind man, notwithstanding his renowned curmudgeonism.

But his influence was lamentable. He served as Speaker of the House over a longer period of time than anyone else had done before him, and during that period Congress went a long way in the direction of becoming the Chief Executive's House of Lords. It was not conceived by the Founders that Congress should be an acquiescent ratifier of Presidential promulgations, yet it was to that purpose that Sam Rayburn used his great influence, save during the brief interlude when the President was a Republican rather than a Democrat.

He had no discernible political principles of his own, behind which to lodge his enormous power and prestige. He was a Democrat, pure and simple: and whatever was good for the Democratic Party, as determined by the President, was good enough for Sam Rayburn. For a proud man, he was capable of the most debasing servility: as when—his last major public stand, come to think of it—he exhorted the Congress two years ago to defeat the Landrum-Griffin Bill, which sought to give the labor union member a few civil rights. In trying to defeat this modest bill, Mr. Rayburn exhumed the rambunctious and pernicious rhetoric of proletarianism, using language that descended from the muckrakers and the Wobblies, down through the organized opposition to

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the Taft-Hartley "Slave Labor Law"—the irresponsible language of class warfare.

For a man who was putatively zealous of the rights and prerogatives of Congress, he stood by docilely while the Supreme Court handed down one after another decision invalidating congressional legislation by the simple use of travesty (as when the Supreme Court, in the Nelson decision of 1957, informed Congress that it had intended by passing the Smith Act of 1940, to pre-empt the entire field of anti-subversive legislation). That finding of what had been on his mind greatly surprised the author of the bill, Congressman Howard Smith: but when he tried to do something about it on the floor of the House, Mr. Rayburn stopped him.

So he sat there, year after year, going along: with a Roosevelt trying to pack the Supreme Court, with a Truman trying to seize the steel industry, with a Kennedy trying to remove Congress' authority over foreign aid. There are those who will say he had a feeling of party responsibility, and was therefore a great public servant. There are others who will say he contributed to the emasculation of Congress, and that ensuing mutations in the delicate balance of constitutional power cannot yet be fully appreciated, but most probably will be horrible to behold.

From Washington Straight

CATO

State Department insiders warn that a recent "reduction in force" which will decimate the Department's Office of Security has nothing to do with the stated reason given by the Department: economy. Instead, they say that career foreign service personnel have finally accomplished a long-standing desire to cripple the security agency.

Top-flight security agents, with many years of experience in their jobs, have been informed that their positions are to be abolished. The Deputy Director of Security, Otto Otepka, was also given the axe. All in all some 25 hard-nosed security people with invaluable security experience have been declared expendable.

In a self-serving release issued to explain the matter, the Director of the Office of Security, William Boswell, a career foreign service officer, stated that he would let nothing occur that would harm our nation's security. But, insiders say, Boswell's scant two and a half years' experience in the security field scarcely qualify him to determine what will or will not endanger our national security.

As the matter now stands, the professional security people are, for the most part, out. The Foreign Service, never notable for a lack of security risks, will henceforth police itself.

Just how effective they will be can be seen from a lineup of the Department's Security Officials. The Administrator of Security and Consular Affairs, Salvatore Bontempo, a recent Kennedy appointee, has absolutely no security experience. He came to Washington from his post as Commissioner of Conservation in New Jersey. He has a rather interesting background which is dealt with extensively in an excellent soft-cover book by former State Department security official, Frank L. Kluckhohn, which has just appeared on the nation's bookstands (*America: Listen,* Monarch Books, 155 pp., 50¢).

Number Two man in the Bureau is Michel Cieplinski, who emigrated from Poland a mere fourteen years ago. Cieplinski's background for his security post appears to have been his service as Director of the Nationalities Division of the Democratic National Committee.

The real significance of this whole matter lies in the fact that security is a complicated business. Only those who have had long experience in the field are competent to do the job as it must be done. And it is precisely those with the proper background who are being removed at State.

As one insider put it last week, "The pros got Scarbeck over the protests of some of the foreign service boys—now they are being rewarded for doing their jobs well. In the future you can bet that Scarbeck-type affairs will be hushed up."

Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D., Conn.) is preparing to make an investigation of the matter.

The day after the State Department announced the reduction in force in the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, that Bureau's most controversial Administrator passed away in Concord, New Hampshire.

Scott McLeod, age 47, served his nation well. As head of SCA he quietly rid the State Department of a large number of security risks and homosexuals. He did this job by calling in the suspected individuals, confronting them with the evidence against them, and giving them a choice of resigning or facing charges. Without exception, they chose to resign. But, since the job had been done with no public fanfare, McLeod was forever after to be charged with persecuting the Foreign Service while never "catching any Communists."

Because he did his job well, he earned the everlasting hatred of the Liberals in and out of the press corps. They mounted a smear campaign against him that never abated until the day he died.

Just how much this campaign contributed to his early death can never be known, but it is a fact that he was deeply hurt by it. In 1956 he showed a friend a small mountain of press clippings and said, "Look at this, I've got books full of them and not a single item is favorable to me. They have done such a job that I am

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ashamed even to stick my head in a department store."

By 1956, Scotty had a serious heart condition. Recognizing this, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles had him named U. S. Ambassador to Ireland in the hope that his post would not provide any great stress. After a bitter fight over his confirmation, the Senate approved his nomination and he went on to become one of the great representatives this nation has sent abroad.

With the election of John Kennedy, McLeod came home to take a post with the Senate Appropriations Committee. Although the Liberal smear campaign had abated somewhat, the press took an occasional rap at him.

On November 7, worn down by years of bitter attack, Scott McLeod was felled by a heart attack. One of his closest friends, upon hearing of his death, said "Well they finally got him." They had, too.

If Washington Republicans took their cue from the press they would be wandering around the Capitol disconsolately murmuring about the "disastrous" defeats suffered in the recent election.

But such is not the case. Without any taint of sour grapes, most of them are saying that the GOP lost where it always loses and there is nothing unusual about that. But, they point out, the losses were by much smaller margins than usual. Moreover, Republicans won some important grass roots contests. In Louisville, they broke a 28-year Democratic hold on the mayoralty, won a statewide contest for the Supreme Court in Pennsylvania, and won other important posts in upstate New York, Ohio, and Tucson, Arizona.

Actually, there is an air of restrained optimism in GOP ranks. Since mid-October, the National Republican Congressional Committee has fielded five teams of Republican congressmen. These teams, called "Paul Revere Panels," are composed of four Republican congressmen each. They swung through some 19 states making an average of six stops per day. The reception accorded these panels wherever they went was enthusiastic and warm.

Hitting at Kennedy Administration policies, both foreign and domestic, with everything but the kitchen sink, the Republican congressmen struck a responsive chord. Press coverage was excellent and the rallies and dinners held in honor of the teams were in every case sell-outs.

One Republican congressman, fresh from a rousingly successful tour said, "If what we saw out there was any indication, we are going to win in 1962 and win big."

Bobby Kennedy recently told the press that the nation had nothing to fear from domestic Communists.

This view will be stoutly rejected by Rep. John J. Rhodes (R., Ariz.) who has just written Little Brother about a potentially dangerous situation in the Pentagon that involves some of those home-grown Kremlinites that Bobby doesn't think we ought to worry about.

The Arizona Republican has asked the Attorney General to request the Subversive Activities Control Board to determine the security status of a Communist-dominated union, the American Communications Association.

This union, long a target of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, is now recognized as a bargaining agent for a number of individuals now working on vital communications tie-lines that run in and out of the Pentagon. Since the union is not officially designated as "subversive" by the SACB, the Pentagon claims that it can do nothing to keep its members from working on these life-lines.

Rhodes also asked the Pentagon if any members of this union are now working on communications lines between SAC headquarters in Omaha and the various Minuteman missile launching sites scattered around the nation.

The Pentagon's answer was an appalling, "We just can't tell you . . . we don't know." This last goaded Rhodes into his correspondence with Bobby Kennedy. He is waiting patiently to see if the Attorney General can find anything to worry about in this situation.

While the whole process can be lengthy (the Attorney General asks SACB for a determination. When that is finally made, NLRB can then withdraw certification of the union as a bargaining agent) Rhodes feels that it must be started. He recently said, "If we don't do something about this we may someday find ourselves in a situation where the President will find that the 'hot line' is dead if he tries to use it."

Special Report

The Common Market

WILLIAM F. RICKENBACKER

The Common Market, known also as the Inner Six (France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxemburg) and known formally as the European Economic Community (EEC), was established in 1957 by the Treaty of Rome and will mark its fourth birthday on the first of January, 1962. Great Britain, in one of her last exercises of insularity, tried to offset the Common Market by forming her own group ("The Outer Seven"). But that answer was not enough. Last August the British Government formally applied for full membership in the European Economic Community, and she is expected to become a full member by mid-1963. Doubtless the other members of the Outer Seven will follow Britain; and as the Common Market gains in importance, the need arises to inform ourselves about its background and its current operation.

The Treaty of Rome. Running to almost 400 pages, the Treaty of Rome established a series of four-year "stages" in which successive steps would be taken toward the economic integration of the signatory countries. Tariffs have been cut by 30 per cent and will drop 10 or 20 per cent more at year-end. Import quotas have almost disappeared. Great strides have been taken toward complete freedom of movement for

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labor and capital (in Belgium and West Germany, restrictions on capital movement have been virtually abolished). But there are problems yet. Commercial and monetary policies are uncoordinated, anti-trust laws vary widely, and little has been done to improve transportation. The Common Market faces extremely difficult problems in agricultural policy (at the moment, a battle between France and West Germany), which will be aggravated by the negotiations with Great Britain. The treatment of overseas territories (also to be complicated by the consideration of Great Britain's Commonwealth partners) has yet to be solved.

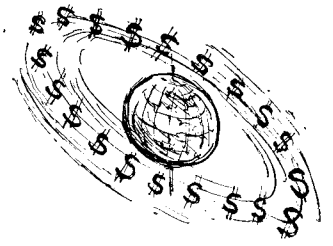
Growth since 1957. Between 1957 and 1960 the internal trade of the Common Market nations expanded by 44 per cent while Britain's exports to the Common Market area increased 22 per cent and world trade rose 20 per cent. Of the total $12.5 billion increase in world trade, the Common Market accounted for $7.5 billion—a full 60 per cent. Industrial growth in the Common Market has averaged about 7 per cent a year since 1955, compared with 5 per cent for Western Europe and 2 per cent for the United States.

Position now. Compared with the United States as of 1959, the Common Market had almost the same population; produced as much cement, more wool yarn, half as many motor vehicles, ten times as much rye, about as much wheat and barley, four times the potato crop, twice as much sugar, more milk, 50 per cent more butter, half as much meat. As a percentage of world production (again, in 1959) the Common Market production of various items compares as follows with that of the United States and the Soviet Union:

	EEC	*US*	*USSR*
Coal	12.5%	20.6%	19.3%
Oil	1.0	35.5	13.2
Electricity	11.7	38.5	12.8
Steel	20.9	28.1	19.8
Cement	19.9	19.9	13.5
Automobiles	30.1	54.4	1.2
Tractors	17.7	46.7	9.8
Wheat	11.7	13.9	23.3
Sugar	22.8	10.5	30.1
Butter	20.6	13.7	17.7
Meat	10.2	19.6	13.9

In 1960 the gold reserves of the Common Market totaled $9.4 billion, compared with $17.8 billion for the United States and approximately $9 billion for Soviet Russia. Today the Common Market handles 25 per cent of the world's trade. Its currencies are hard. There is very little unemployment.

The Future. Professor Rolf Wagenführ, director of the Statistical Office of the Common Market, has estimated that in the next ten years the per capita Gross National Product of the present Common Market



countries will rise much faster than that of the United States and about as fast as that of the Soviet Union. In 1960 the per capita Gross National Product of the Common Market was 38 per cent of the United States figure. By 1972, says Professor Wagenführ, it will be 61 per cent of the United States figure.

Western Europe. If the Common Market comes to include all of Western Europe, its economic power will be formidable. Compared with the United States, in the year 1960, Western Europe had 44 per cent as much land area, 81 per cent more population, 60 per cent as much Gross National Product; produced 19 per cent more steel, 62 per cent as much electricity, 73 per cent as many automobiles; and has gold reserves equivalent to 90 per cent of the United States gold reserve. If the Common Market, including Western Europe, continues to expand at its present rate of three times the United States rate, not many years will pass before the Common Market becomes the most powerful economic bloc in the world.

International significance. The members of the Common Market, especially Germany, make no secret of their intent to use the economic integration of Europe as a basis for political integration. Ferdinand Himpele, writing in *Die Welt*, refers to the problems of tariffs, quotas, labor policy, power production, and agricultural policy as a mere "family quarrel." Despite the distaste for "professional Europeans," despite the rumors of "French domination" of the Common Market, Himpele finds that the Common Market has become "the magnet for the economic and political unification of Western Europe." Indeed, political integration has been a constant theme in the Common Market countries. Himpele quotes Professor Hallstein, the president of the European Economic Community: "Economic and political motives are intertwined when the common effort is to organize in order to solve problems that no single state, no narrow bloc, can handle: the defense against Communism, the struggle against poverty, the development of backward nations, the emergence of Africa, stabilization of commodity prices, agricultural surpluses, market fluctuations, the soundness of the currency, and so on."

And the rest of the world has caught the idea of the Common Market. The Central American Common Market (four countries) has been in business for more than a year. Last June seven nations (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Uruguay, Peru) formed the Latin American Free Trade Association (the senate of Colombia voted to join in October). A free trade zone is forming among the Malay Federation, Singapore, and the British possessions in Borneo. Indeed, what Himpele says of the European Common Market may apply with equal force to the entire Western World: "The question remains, whether, without the Soviet menace, Great Britain would have taken the road to the Common Market, and whether the Common Market countries would have welcomed her with one voice. But Soviet policy has brought the West, and so Europe, to crisis, and national vanity has subsided. It is the same with the question whether Paris or London will play first fiddle on this continent: although it may sometimes appear otherwise, every responsible European statesman considers this a minor question, for the major one is to solve the problem of the common defense of Europe."

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An Interview

Portugal's Foreign Minister Pleads for Western Firmness

THOMAS MOLNAR

In the midst of the ideological tumult at the United Nations, a conversation with Alberto Franco Nogueira is an oasis of common sense. The Foreign Minister of Portugal, just back from Washington and a heartily applauded speech at Harvard, had graciously agreed to answer my questions for an hour and a half. We orbited the globe, noting its trouble spots.

Your Excellency, I began, *do you think that recent developments point the way towards consolidation in Africa, and the continued coexistence of various races on that continent, including the whites whose presence is vitally needed?*

There is such a possibility in sub-Saharan Africa. But it would be naive to hope that the Cold War,—that is, Communist infiltration and domination—can be kept out of that immense continent if the present Western policy is not changed. For example, the terrorists in Angola, incited by Communist agents from a neighboring country and elsewhere, were pushed back quickly and efficiently, but only after they had massacred, mutilated and tortured about 5,000 people, of all races but mostly colored. But as a result of our firm action, supported by the people, the population which had fled in fright wherever the terrorists appeared, is now returning peacefully to the villages and farms, and thus normal life has been restored. It should be understood, that only the West can guarantee the accession of the African population to a free existence.

Would the same remarks apply to North Africa too, Your Excellency?

There the situation seems to be less fluid and more critical. As it develops, it will have, of course, an incalculable bearing on the destinies of France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and the other Mediterranean countries. Keep in mind that our relationship with Africa and the security of Africa is as important for us as is yours with Latin America. Both Europe and Africa would benefit tremendously by close cooperation; without it, both are threatened by weakness and anarchy. The West must understand that this is vital for the long-range interests of both continents.

The United Nations no longer observes its own charter, which has simply been brushed aside. In the resulting near-chaos the majority of decisions consistently favor the Soviet bloc and the Soviets' client nations. If the world body stops respecting the sovereignty of nations and keeps interfering with their internal problems, then these nations will have to oppose the UN in self-defense. No nation in the world is willing to place its vital interests in the hands of an irresponsible and lawless majority. What would happen if tomorrow some government requests UN intervention for suppressing domestic revolt? Or if some Afro-Asian states begin to back some secessionist movement within my country, or yours?

Will you comment on recent signs of the intensification of the East-West conflict?

If we do not cease disregarding our national interests, and the interests of our partners; if, in the name of vague ideologies, we submit to tyrannical majorities and to a "world opinion" concocted by demagogues, then we will be the losers in the present conflict. The logic of defeat is already implied in the Western weakness on certain key issues that results from the failure to defend allies on other issues.

Soviet Russia faces no such problems. First, Marxist ideology in the hands of the Kremlin's masters is a docile instrument: it can be adapted to any situation, today in defense of independence; tomorrow, of industrialization. Here it favors the nationalistic bourgeoisie; there, the proletarian masses. Secondly, never for a moment do the Russians subordinate *their* national interests to treaties, international organizations, majorities in world bodies. They do not travel the road of concessions whose cumulative effect is always increasing isolation in a world which, behind the slogans of "peace" and "rule of law," idolizes power.

Sino-Soviet 'Rift'

Would the admission of Red China to the United Nations complicate the Kremlin's task?

It would to a certain extent, since as a great power China could not be counted upon to vote and act exactly on the Soviet line. Yet it would be a great mistake to base Western policy on the so-called rift between the two Communist powers. In fifty years' time Russia and China will perhaps clash over Siberia or Southeast Asia. For the time being, however, the ideological and economic ties are far stronger than any dissension. And this is the same in the case of that other mirage, propagandized by a certain press, namely the internal "liberalization" of Soviet regimes, the intra-party rivalry, etc. Party strife in the Kremlin should not be seen in the same light as the differences of opinion within or among Western states. The Kremlin has only *one* policy towards the rest of the world, no matter what faction is temporarily in power.

Is it your impression that the so-called neutralist nations are aware of the danger of an overly strong Soviet Russia? In other words, are they worried that the world balance of power might be upset?

What you call the world balance of power is, of course, the very condition of the neutrality of these countries. As long as pressure by one of the great powers weighs more heavily on them, they will turn, by the nature of political realities, in that direction. This was clearly demonstrated at the Belgrade conference, which refused to condemn Soviet resumption of nuclear testing.

(Continued on p. 378)

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Congress: Danger Ahead—1962

A scholarly discussion of the need for states which lost Congressmen in the last Census to to get on with the gerrymandering

LUCIUS WILMERDING JR.

A good deal of uncertainty with respect to the composition of the next House of Representatives has been occasioned by the failure of five or six states that have lost seats in the 1960 census apportionment to redivide themselves into a number of congressional districts consistent with their reduced representatives. In each of these states, unless timely action is taken by its own legislature (which is unlikely) or by Congress (which is scarcely to be conceived), the single-member district system of choosing representatives will in 1962 be abandoned. Every voter will be permitted to vote for every representative to which his state is entitled. The strongest party within the state may be expected to win every seat.

If the states principally in question were small or internally undivided in political sentiment, such a change in the mode of election might have little effect on the relative strength of the two parties in Congress. Mississippi, for example, would doubtless return five Democrats whether the candidates for its five seats ran each in a single district or all on a state-wide general ticket.

General Ticket Elections

But Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Massachusetts are large, and in each of them there is a division of the parties very nearly equal. Under the district system they might in 1962 be expected to choose thirty-one Republicans and thirty-two Democrats, or vice versa. Under the general ticket system, it is possible, indeed probable, that their combined representation—sixty-three members in all—will be unanimous on one side or the other. If things are going badly for the Kennedy Administration, we may look for a Republican sweep; if well, for a Democratic sweep. In neutral conditions, a judicious distribution of the patronage by the general government to the leaders in the state contest should give the edge to the Democrats.

What the event will be we cannot now say. We may suggest, however, that, if these three states persist in their intentions to elect by general ticket, the 88th Congress will either be firmly in control of the Northern wing of the Democratic Party or politically so distracted as to produce on all controversial measures a legislative stalemate.

There will be a difference of opinion about the desirability or undesirability of these alternative consequences. That citizen would be very short-sighted, however, who, because of a possible immediate political advantage, permitted himself to applaud an exercise of state power that must unsettle our institutions and may, in the long run, alter a fundamental feature of our government.

For more than a century election by district to the House of Representatives has been the normal mode. Indeed, as we shall presently see, from 1842 until 1931 it was, by law, the only mode. In recent years there have been exceptions to the rule, but these have been few and inconsequential. Now a massive breaking in upon the system is in prospect. It is inconceivable that the new arrangements can have any stability. We will spell out the reason. It often happens that, upon some question of national policy, the interests or wishes of two states will stand mutually opposed. Let it be assumed that one state, by means of the general ticket, casts an undivided vote in the House, while the other with its congressmen elected by districts, is almost neutralized by the division. How long will it take the latter state to remould her regulations in imitation? What Pennsylvania does today New York may do tomorrow.

The 1812 Gerrymander of Essex County, Mass.

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Leaving to one side, for the moment, any inquiry into the relative merits of the two modes of election, we may lay it down as a general principle that, whichever is better, both ought not to exist together. There was a period in our history when they did. During the early part of the nineteenth century some states elected representatives by general ticket, others by districts, still others by a combination of the two methods.

Voting a la Carte

Uniformity in the manner of election was unknown. Different rules prevailed in the same state at different times and in different states at the same time. Every two years the prevailing party in each state made such variations in the rule as might for the time being answer its particular views. The question was never, what is intrinsically the best mode of choosing representatives to Congress but always what is the best defensive expedient to counteract the regulations of other states and secure the utmost relative weight in the affairs of the union? Every alteration was made on the spur of the occasion to effect some temporary and factious purpose. Small wonder that contemporary statesmen denounced the existing system, or lack of system, as a ridiculous and disgusting political farce, "tending to degrade our representative government in the eyes of the world and to lower it in our own estimation."

Fortunately, in 1842 Congress itself put an end to this unsettled course. Exercising for the first time a power given it by the Constitution for the very purpose of producing uniformity in the manner of electing representatives throughout the country, it required them thenceforward to be chosen by single-member districts. This law, modified in various ways from time to time, remained upon the statute books until 1932, when the Supreme Court, in the case of *Wood* v. *Broom,* by a vote of five to four, decided that its most recent re-enactment had expired by its own limitation with the apportionment to which it immediately related.

This unlucky decision has permitted the state legislatures once again to regulate the election of representatives. It has restored the situation that the act of 1842 sought to correct. The framers of that act looked upon it as a reform in the true sense of the word—meaning a return to original purity. Shall we now view with equanimity the beginnings of a counter-reform?

It might, perhaps, be argued that the disturbing influence of the state legislatures on the law of elections will be transitory. A departure now from the old uniformity of the district system may be only a first step in the direction of a new uniformity —an election everywhere by general ticket. Was it not by such degrees that the general ticket gradually and imperceptibly crept into the Presidential elections?

The small states first adopted it, and each of the other states was seduced until it became general.

The analogy is pertinent. Time—if we can afford to wait—may remedy the evil of diversity. But it does not follow that a uniformity imposed by a kind of state necessity is preferable to a uniformity adopted by choice. We come at last to the great question: Will the new uniformity be better than the old?

Comparing the underlying principles of the general ticket and district systems, a committee of the House of Representatives, reporting in 1823, expressed its views as follows:

> It may justly be said of the plan of voting by general ticket that it is not consistent with the true theory of a popular representation. The popular branch of the National Legislature should exhibit a faithful image of the people. When, for example, a State is divided in its interests and opinions, when some districts are agricultural, some manufacturing, and some commercial, and, if you will, when some are republican and some federal, each of those districts of people should have a fair representation in Congress. Because one interest or one party happens to be predominant in a State, is no adequate reason that the rest should be disfranchised and have no voice in the national councils. This, indeed, would not be a representation of the people, but of the States; giving to this House a federal, instead of a popular origin and character.

There are practical as well as theoretical reasons for preferring the district system to the general ticket system. It is no small objection to the latter that it naturally tends, upon the most obvious principles of reaction, to produce sudden and entire revolutions in the political character of a state. Where the ascendancy of one party over the other is given by a majority of only a few thousand voters, a change of opinion in this small number of persons, such as frequently occurs, will for all practical purposes change the opinion of the whole state in relation to the general course of the national government. The alternate successes and defeats of the rival parties in each state will increase or diminish the supporters of that government by the whole number of representatives of the state in Congress. A capricious mutability will be communicated to the national councils. Such changes in popular opinion as would hardly be felt under the district system might bring about a complete reversal in the administration and measures of the general government under the other system. In these perilous times can we afford a mode of election that produces from small and inadequate causes sudden and sweeping vibrations in national policy and action?

To Combat Disunion

Domestic harmony is also a desideratum. The general ticket system, by arraying state against state in solid phalanx on the floor of Congress can only strengthen the exclusive feelings of state pride and sectional prejudice that already bedevil us. If only to combat the spirit of disunion, it is important that the local minorities in the several states should have a full and fair representation in Congress. It has been well said that "in periods of deep political excitement, nothing is better calculated to allay sectional animosities, and subdue the angry spirit of faction, than the mediatorial influence of such representatives."

The comparison between the two systems might be continued. We might demonstrate, for example, that, by an accidental but not improbable arrangement of votes, a minority of the people may sometimes, under the general ticket plan, elect a majority of the national representatives. We might argue that the natural tendency of the general ticket system is to take the whole elective power of the state from the people and put it

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into the hands of a few political managers. But the few points that we have elaborated above must satisfy us here. They are the most important and, against the general ticket, the most conclusive.

A Course of Action

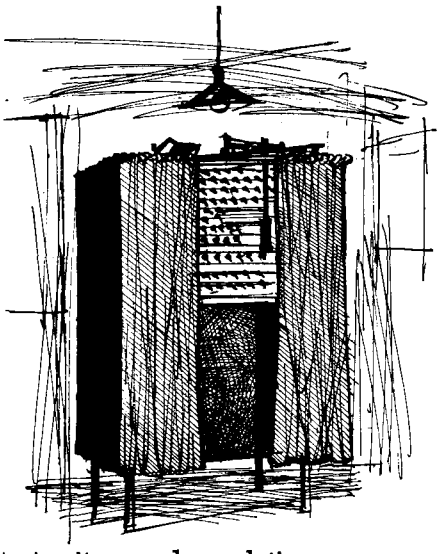
It remains only to suggest a course of action which, if taken, might correct existing and impending evils and, at the same time, fix upon uniform principles an important operation of popular sovereignty now liable to be controlled by the diversified and clashing expedients of fifty states mutually independent.

Here we must pause to examine the Constitution. Article I, Section 4, reads in part as follows: "The times, places, and manner of holding elections for representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations." The provision needs little gloss. A right is in the first instance given to the state legislatures to regulate the election of representatives to Congress; but a paramount authority is given to Congress, whenever it pleases, to do the same thing.

Would it not be wise for Congress now to exercise its right—not perhaps for the purpose of superseding the whole authority of the state legislatures over the manner of election but merely to lay down certain ground rules for its exercise? A law phrased somewhat as follows might be sufficient:

> For the purpose of electing representatives to Congress, each state shall be divided into as many districts as will equal the number of representatives to which the state is entitled. Such districts shall be composed of compact and contiguous territory and shall contain, as nearly as may be practicable, equal numbers of inhabitants. No one district shall elect more than one representative.

This language, it will be observed, does not say by what authority the districts shall be laid off. The silence is proper, because the Constitution itself tells the state legislatures to go on and make the districts subject to the superseding power of Congress. To some persons the clause requiring the districts to be uniform in respect



to territory and population may seem too loosely drawn. Granted that experience may show the need for greater precision in the federal standards of uniformity, it does not follow that Congress ought now to make the detailed regulations. It will be time enough to act when facts, not apprehension, demand the interference of the national legislature. For the present we are not so much concerned with the possible underrepresentation of state minorities at some time in the future as with the immediate denial to them of any representation whatsoever.

What objection might be made to the proposed law? It has sometimes been said that the power of Congress to regulate the manner of holding elections for representatives does not include the power of requiring these to be elected in districts. The short answer to this pronouncement is to remark that, if Congress has not the power, neither have the state legislatures. Both derive their authority over the election of representatives from the same clause of the Constitution; that authority, whatever its extent, is the same for both. It is indeed under the term, manner, that every state has hitherto legislated on the subject of districting. Are we now to say that the whole mass of this legislation is unconstitutional and that every representative elected by the district system since the beginning of the government has held his seat without right?

A more plausible argument against the legislation proposed above may be found in a paper prepared by President Tyler to explain his reasons for signing the act of Congress which in 1842 imposed the district system upon the states. Conceding that the power of Congress to regulate the manner of holding elections was full and plenary and that it contained the power to divide the populations of the states into districts for electoral purposes, he suggested that Congress had no power to exercise this power in part. If it wished to establish a uniform district system, well and good; but it must lay out the districts themselves—not order the state legislatures to lay them out. "That Congress itself has power by law to alter state regulations is clear, but its power to command the states to make new regulations or alter their existing regulations is the question upon which I have felt deep and strong doubts."

In spite of his doubts, Tyler signed the bill. But did they have any strong foundation? To the careful reader the question that troubled Tyler may seem wrongly stated. The act of 1842 was not strictly speaking an order to the states to do anything. It prescribed a rule for the states to follow, but it was the Constitution, not Congress, that required the states to conform their regulations to the statute.

Partial Regulation

However this may be, there is something preposterous in the idea that Congress must make its regulations entire or not regulate at all. Speaking of a number of acts passed by Congress for the election of representatives, including this one of 1842, the Supreme Court in the case of *Ex Parte Siebold,* in 1879, remarked: "No one will pretend, at least at the present day, that these laws are unconstitutional because they only partially cover the subject."

The Court might have added that no one would have so pretended during the first years of the government. In 1792 Congress made a partial exercise of its analogous power to regulate the *time* of choosing Presidential electors. They were to be appointed within thirty-four days preceding the first Wednesday of December in every fourth year. No one saw a necessity that Congress fix the precise day. No one complained that the law was

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a *mandamus* act unconstitutionally attempting to control the legislation of the states.

Some will admit the right of Congress to regulate the mode of election in the way suggested, but question the wisdom of its exercise. Suppose, they will say, that the states treat the legislation with contempt. What will Congress do if a state refuses to lay out congressional districts and sends to Washington a delegation elected by general ticket? Will the House of Representatives refuse to receive it and leave the offending state without representation? The difficulty arose in 1843, and what happened? The House, by a strict party vote, without apology or explanation, seated the members elected by an unlawful mode.

This argument, however, proves too much. It might be used to oppose any legislation by Congress that requires state action to complete it. The apportionment of representatives among the several states is made by national law. Unless Congress goes on to regulate the mode of their election, the states are directed by the Constitution to do it. Suppose they do nothing. Or suppose that a state, unwilling to submit to a reduction in the number of its representatives, sends to Congress the same number as it previously sent. What would Congress do? Such questions scarcely need a reply. If we are going to assume a nullification by the states of those parts of the Constitution that place the state legislatures in some respect under the control of Congress, we might as well begin thinking about the establishment of some other form of national government.

States Expected to:

1. elect by general ticket in 1962: Alabama (8 seats), Hawaii (2), Illinois (24), Massachusetts (12), Minnesota (8), New Mexico (2), Pennsylvania (27)

2. elect one member at large: Connecticut, Maryland, Michigan, Ohio, Texas

3. pass district bills prior to 1962 election: Kentucky, Mississippi.

As to the particular difficulties of 1843, they were short-lived. They proved very little, except that political considerations sometimes govern the actions of man more effectively than respect for law. But the act of 1842 was not really a failure. Disrespect for it rapidly faded away. In 1846 all representatives were chosen by districts.

There is no real reason for believing that the states will resist the exercise by Congress of a power granted it in plain words by the Constitution. However, if Congress is going to act, it must act soon. The general ticket system, once established, can never be got rid of. It is idle to expect men who owe their seats to that system to vote for another that may retire them to private life. It is now, when the self-interest of the representatives chosen by districts coincides with the national interest, that we must hope for the passage of a law that will effectively prevent the introduction or re-introduction into our institutions of a mode of electing representatives wrong in principle and protective of much evil in practice.

Two General Propositions

We have argued in this article for an establishment by law of a uniform district system. It has seemed to us, as it seemed to Hamilton and Madison, and indeed to a great majority of the men who framed our Constitution and first put it into operation, that this is "the natural and proper mode of holding elections." There are those who may prefer some more exotic system—for example, the system of proportional representation. Let us not now engage them in controversy. There will be time for that when some particular bill is brought to debate in Congress.

In the meanwhile we may all agree on two general propositions: first, that the regulation of the manner of electing representatives should be uniform throughout the nation; and second, that such regulation should give us the real will of the people rather than the artificial will of the states. Perhaps together we can bring about a situation in which the rules of voting will be framed with a view to the common interest rather than to local convenience and local prejudice —when the sole subject of inquiry will be, what principle of election will be fair to all parties, to all parts of the country, and at all times.

AN INTERVIEW

(Continued from p. 374)

Your Excellency, your country has had the longest historical association with South America and the closest relationship with Brazil. Could you comment on the recent events in that country and on the possibilities opened by the Allianza para Progreso?

The future of Latin America is chiefly determined by its largest countries: Brazil, Argentina and Mexico. All of them today have solid and responsible regimes and their populations look forward to increasing well-being. The over-all hope is that all Latin American countries will also consolidate their domestic position and in this process the assistance that the U.S. Government will extend over the years will be a decisive factor since it will mean investment for the good of the people as a whole.

Reassert Principles

How then, Your Excellency, do you judge the prospects of a general Western recovery of leadership in world affairs?

Above all, we must comprehend the *nature* of international relations, the urgency to discard illusions. National interests are the rock bottom of these relations, and no government will ever yield on issues involving them closely. The West does not seem to understand today this elementary truth, partly because it has enthroned the "wind of history" in the place of the guiding Christian principles. This loss of purpose has disastrously weakened the West, and since the West is still the greatest repository of spiritual and material values, the result is power vacuum and world-wide confusion. If the West were to reassert its leadership and stand firm on all fronts, ideological, political and economic, then the nations of the world would again turn in its direction. *Alliance* with the West would again be a meaningful term. Otherwise, the nations of the world, old and new, will inexorably drift away toward anarchy and totalitarianism.

You may add that I am optimistic concerning the future, but only on one condition: that the trend towards loss of power and prestige by the West is unequivocally reversed.

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Religion

Reinhold Niebuhr: Burkean Conservative

WILL HERBERG

The name of Reinhold Niebuhr, America's outstanding Protestant theologian, is not likely to arouse readers of NATIONAL REVIEW to demonstrations of enthusiastic approval. Very much to the contrary! In the columns of this journal, Niebuhr has generally appeared as an unregenerate Liberal, devoted to Liberal causes, a stalwart of the Liberal Establishment. Yet I propose to argue that this very same Niebuhr is a conservative in the proper sense of the word, and that he is a conservative precisely by virtue of his theological position. And in making my case, I hope also to do something toward clarifying these two almost hopelessly confused terms, Liberalism and conservatism.

Herberg

What is Liberalism and what is conservatism? Both of these political philosophies, at least in their self-conscious form, are quite modern. Both emerged out of the French Revolution, in response and reaction to it. Liberalism—the term itself seems to have first appeared in Spain at the beginning of the nineteenth century—affirmed the purposes, goals, and ideology of the French Revolution, but shied away from its terror and violence: it hoped to achieve the same ends by peaceful means. Like the philosophers of the French Enlightenment and Revolution, the Liberals had an optimistic view of man and society: human rationality and virtue would be quite sufficient to solve all human problems, if only men would follow reason and rid themselves of the dead weight of custom (tradition) and superstition (religion). Society should be reorganized on a rational basis, thus opening the way to the indefinite perfectibility of mankind. *Political rationalism* (the remaking of society along a rational model), contempt for history and tradition, and the itch for innovation emerged as the hallmark of the new Liberal philosophy.

Conservatism, on the other hand, emerged as a reaction *against* the French Revolution. Edmund Burke is the founder and fountainhead of genuine conservatism. In his celebrated writings on the French Revolution, Burke developed a philosophy that might well be called *political historicism*. Burke was the sworn enemy of the rationalistic, "geometrical" spirit in politics; he strongly affirmed the basic moral principles of political life, but insisted with equal emphasis that these basic principles, "entering into the common life, like rays of light which pierce into a dense medium, are . . . refracted from their straight line, . . . [and] undergo such a variety of refractions and reflections that it becomes absurd to think of them as if they continued in the simplicity of their original direction." The true statesman has a sense of the "grain of history," which defines both the possibilities and limits of his statecraft, for while history may be beguiled, it cannot be coerced. When history is either ignored or overborne in the name of doctrinal schemes of social reconstruction, Jacobinism emerges, with its ideological fury and fanaticism, culminating in the total despotism of party dogma. The same historical conservatism that led Burke to see so clearly the logic of Jacobinism led him to reject with horror the mechanical conception of society as a human contrivance to be made and remade at will by political innovators with revolutionary programs. He was, of course, thinking of the French ideologues, but perhaps he also recalled Tom Paine's clamorous insistence that "every age and every generation must be free to act for itself in all cases. . . ." A society or a nation, in Burke's view, is an historical community of destiny arising out of the "deliberate election of ages and generations." It cannot be made or remade at will, though as an historical structure, it is always remaking itself.

In all these respects, Reinhold Niebuhr is a thoroughgoing Burkean. Like Burke, he feels that "every error which infects a modern Liberal culture in its estimate of the human situation, and most of the errors which reached a tragic culmination in modern totalitarianism, were hatched in the French Enlightenment. . . . The Enlightenment spawned every illusion which produced despotism in the name of liberty, civil war in the name of fraternity, and superstitious politics in the name of reason." He, too, argues against the mechanical, or artifact, theory of society, and does so in quite Burkean terms: "Community [he says] is always an organic, historical entity rather than a purely rational artifact." But Niebuhr not only thinks along Burke's lines; he more than once directly acknowledges his indebtedness to Burke, and to Burke's anti-Enlightenment, anti-Jacobin thinking.

Niebuhr goes along with Burke in many of the latter's characteristically conservative emphases. Like Burke—recall the celebrated "Speech to the Electors of Bristol" (1774)—Niebuhr rejects the so-called "mandate" theory of representation, insisting that a representative in Congress or in Parliament is not simply the mouthpiece of his constituents, there simply to register their will, but has the responsibility of acting upon independent deliberation, "mature judgment," and "enlightened conscience," whether his constituents agree with him or not. Like Burke, Niebuhr is suspicious of direct (or "pure") democracy, and strongly approves of a constitutional system in which "the will of the people [is] interpreted by a 'wise oligarchy,'" operating through a system of "mediating institutions calculated to filter the emotions of the common man and purify them into wisdom." This documentation of Niebuhr's conservative political philosophy could be continued indefinitely.

But is not Niebuhr identified with many causes sponsored or supported

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The French Have a Word for It

ALOISE B. HEATH

No one, I am sure, really thinks that French people go around saying *"L'Etat, c'est moi,"* or *"Vive la différence,"* or even *"Sonnez les matines"* all the time, but I sometimes wonder whether Americans know what French people do go around saying all the time. Now I've made up my mind. They don't and I'm going to tell them.

I began to notice their linguistic idiosyncracies only last month when I spent three weeks in France with one of my sisters. My French has always been good (well, let's face it: superb) but Priscilla's is so absolutely dashing that before we had been in Paris a full day I took two verbal paces to her rear and stayed there till we got home again. What shook me was that, two hours after we arrived, when a waiter asked us what we wanted to drink, Priscilla answered: "Two seriouses," and he brought us each a large glass of beer,[1] which was, in effect, what we wanted to drink. (*I* could have ordered two large glasses of beer, all right, but you know what I would have had to ask for to get them? . . . exactly.) So anyway, the next morning, when Priscilla told the hairdresser to give me a "shampooing" (this is a French noun which rhymes with "Rond Point") and a put-in-pleats, I didn't get a bit nervous (and actually, they didn't put my hair in pleats: they gave me that same nice set I always get at Schultz') but I did get interested in French semantics, because when you ask for serious and get a glass of beer or ask for a put-in-pleats and get your hair set—well in West Hartford, Connecticut, we call that madness.

The very first time I was able to put my finger on this method was the very first time we were in an elevator that stopped dead between the *rez-de-chaussée* and the *sous-sol.* In accordance with our different levels of sophistication I cried: "To the help," which is what you cry when you are trapped in an Alpine pass in a blizzard at midnight and wolves are attacking you; and Priscilla shouted: "The ascendor does not march," which means that the elevator isn't working. After awhile we stopped for a cigarette and we noticed the sign on the door. "By means of a telephonic apparatus which finds itself at the interior of the ascendor, *ladies* and *gentlemen,"* the sign said pointedly, "may inform the concierge with *all calm* that a mechanical anomaly has passed itself." There is more to this message than meets the eye, we found. And you will find if you try to say *"Anomalie mécanique"* without *all calm.*

Exile? Prison? Torture?

The French elevator companies which are more sinning than sinned against, I am sure, maintain order by imposing certain standards of labial agility. French railways, which are probably the opposite, also depend on psychological tactics, but they maintain gentlemanly standards in their clientele by instilling in them a dark and crawling fear of the unknown.

Anywhere in the world, if you're caught trying to hitch a free ride on a train, you get thrown off; as the New Haven puts it, "Passengers without tickets will be ejected." With the New Haven, in other words, you know exactly where you stand—which is along the tracks about two miles north of Meriden, if worse comes to worst. But where do you stand if worse comes to worst on a French train? They don't tell you. All you know for a fact is that: "Persons in transit who are discovered to be without tickets of passage will find themselves in a position of the greatest irregularity." And what is the penalty for being greatly irregular? Exile? Prison? Torture? *You just don't know!* Only persons who *have* found themselves in a greatly irregular position know—*and they aren't talking!* The thing is, in France you just don't go gallivanting around without buying tickets.

There is plenty of Gallic subtlety in their journalism too. Their newspapers increase their circulation not only by the reporting, but also by ceasing to report. Have you ever noticed that French people buy six or seven papers a day? The reason they do is that they are constantly, desperately, vainly, trying to find out what on earth happened. Take the case that opened with six-inch headlines last month:

ALL FRANCE SEIZED BY HORROR

The Small Hermione Aged But of Eight Years

Accompanied by Uni-Legged Sadist, Vanishes

For a few days there was no, but no, other news in any paper. Priscilla and I, daily glued to the daily press, learned a great deal more about the uni-legged sadist (the life that man had *led!*) and less of the Chateaux of the Loire than we had intended when we planned our trip. But, at last, one morning, we read that a gay party of *pique-nique* had found the ravisher, self-poniarded in a park. A note nearby stated that the ravisher's personal preference was for a French Algeria and that the small Hermione was at the home of his brother's married daughter. Priscilla and I were very happy to hear it, to be sure, but not being in the habit of taking the word of uni-legged sadists, especially those with his record, we bought another paper the next morning to check on him. There was nothing about Hermoine in *Le Monde,* so we bought *France-Soir.* Nothing in *France-Soir,* so we bought *Le Figaro.* And *Paris-Presse,* and *Combat* and even *Humanité.* Pretty soon we were buying six or seven papers a day just like everyone else in France, because by the time we realized we would never find out if the small Hermione actually was at the ravisher's brother's married daughter's, we found ourselves trapped again.

We absolutely *had* to find out what happened to the rest of the segregated lady of Bethune, 42.3 kilograms of whom had been recovered from various parts of the river, and 20.7 kilograms of whom the police had care-

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1. And that is just about enough of all those middle-class snobbisms I can see running through your head. We were eating *choucroute garnie,* and when you eat *choucroute garnie* you drink beer—whether you are in Paris or Milwaukee, Wis.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Caithness and Orkney

"Rainy, rainy rattlestanes,
Dinna rain on me:
Rain on John o' Groat's hoose
Far across the sea."

When one stands on the little circular mound that marks the site of John o' Groat's House, at the top of Scotland, there stretches away to the south barren and depopulated Caithness, a land almost treeless, as was all Scotland in Samuel Johnson's day. And to the north—for you stand upon the cliffs—rages the wildest water in the world, the Pentland Firth, with the dim Orkneys beyond. This is the country of Viking and Pict, of forgotten saints and bygone ferocity: like its landscape, its history is misty. No one is quite sure, for instance, just who John of Groat was, or what he did—except that probably he was one of the Dutchmen imported by James IV to domesticate turbulent Scotland.

Kirk

"Beast is more than man in Meath," the Irish say. Ghost and ruin are more than man and beast in Caithness. Driving the length of this old territory of the Sinclairs, one sees derelict crofts and shriveled villages many of them abandoned only in recent years. Hundreds, nay thousands of smallholdings, cultivated almost since the Bronze Age, now lie untilled, with the thatch falling from the rafters of the old stone cottages.

Only the old town of Thurso booms—or rather, the hideous new suburb of Thurso, Dounreay, with its gigantic atomic-power plant and experimental works. To Dounreay, I am told, drifts a great part of the former inhabitants of the snug little crofts: one can earn as much as fifty pounds a week at Dounreay, with little experience. And the rest? Well, as was said in the time of the nineteenth-century clearances, to Hell or Glasgow. It took a good long while for the creature-comfort modern economy to destroy the old life of Caithness, but the work is fairly well accomplished now.

Queerly enough, Caithness is becoming rather a fashionable place to live at the very time its old ways flicker toward extinction. The Queen Mother has established herself at the Castle of Mey, hard by John o' Groat's; the dowager Duchess of Portland has moved to Caithness; Sir Rafe Anstruther has fitted up near Thurso a little mansion-house that one of his ancestors won—the day before he died at Sir John Moore's side—at a game of cards during the first Peninsular campaign. The austere existence of this naked region, with its tall gaunt towers on the cliffs and its peat-bog eeriness, still has a twilight charm for the great old families.

Orkney's plight is not so melancholy, even though transportation to and from the isles consists simply of the Aberdeen packet, that pitching ferry-steamer across the whirlpools of the Pentland, and planes from Wick that don't fly when the northern mists are thick. For in Orkney the farms are bigger, the land is somewhat better, and cattle pay; indeed, in recent years the arable acreage of Mainland, the chief island, has been considerably increased, now that the farmers know how to plow sand into the peat and so bring under cultivation of a sort soils never before touched. Orkney produces a good cheese, too, not so well known as it should be: "It squeaks on the teeth," said one young lady whom I presented with a round young Orkney cheese from the little old-fangled eighteenth-century rice port of Stromness.

In the Orkney Islands, then, population declines much more slowly—though on some of the more remote isles, notably Westray, there are few young faces; while Strona, right in the Pentland Firth, is reduced to a single family, and the Fair Isles, with their famous knitted sweaters, stand in danger of total evacuation for want of employment and youthful vigor.

In the Middle Ages, Orkney lay upon main trade routes, and the Earl was a power to be reckoned with; but misgovernment, the discovery of the New World, and the attractions of urban Scotland and England have reduced the islands to obscurity. Few American tourists come, or travelers of any other sort. But for the accident that a fifteenth-century earl could find no gifted navigator, Orkney's story might be very different, and New York might be called New Kirkwall: for half a century before Columbus sailed, the Earl of Orkney aspired to dispatch westward an expedition in search of those realms described in the Viking sagas.

A past yet more remote still broods in the Orkneys. The Picts' earth-houses—suitable enough for our Atomic Age—are dotted about the islands like rabbit burrows. In the heart of Mainland lies the awesome prehistoric tomb of Maeshowe, where Viking tourists scribbled runes upon the interior walls a thousand years ago, when the great chamber already was immemorially old.

Is it really better—Coleridge inquired a hundred and forty years ago—that ancient regions should be stripped of their inhabitants to form one universal Manchester? There is but one little recent gesture in defiance of this wave of the future: the people of Tristran de Cunha, in the South Atlantic, their island overwhelmed by a volcanic explosion, probably will be resettled in the Scottish islands, their traditional life of crofting and fishing being wondrously like the old Hebridean way.

Sophisters, economists, and calculators notwithstanding, I suggest that a nation which industrializes and concentrates its population so thoroughly as to abandon altogether the ancient lands of saints and heroes somehow must have gone astray. Kirkwall and Stromness are backwaters nowadays, but I fancy that they do not know the boredom of the hygienic slums of the future erected by the modern British state.

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Acorn to Oak

FRANK S. MEYER

It is some ten years since William F. Buckley Jr.'s *God and Man at Yale* exploded a good-sized charge of TNT within the complacent purlieus of the Liberal academy. It was a shame and a scandal. By 1951, after decades of embattled effort, it must have looked to the Liberal professor, surveying the American academic scene, that his orthodoxy was firmly, securely, and finally established. If an occasional voice was raised from outside against his dogmatic monopoly of American education, it was soon silenced by the massed and indignant outcry of the entire academy. Now a defiant trumpet note rang out from the very center of the fortress.

Life in the groves of academe has never been the same since. Both portent of coming events and a powerful causal factor in their development, *God and Man at Yale* inaugurated a conservative movement in the universities. Its publication was the first of a series of events which have transformed the political map of the American campus, creating a widespread and militant student movement which has been in the forefront of the American conservative revival.

M. Stanton Evans' *Revolt on the Campus* is published, fortuitously, almost exactly ten years after *God and Man at Yale*. The difference between the subject matter of the two books is the measure of the achievement of conservatism in the universities during those ten years. Where Buckley seemed a lone voice crying in the wilderness, anatomizing and scarifying the unchallenged monopoly of the Liberal ideology, Evans records the history of a movement directed towards the overthrow of that monopoly. In the opening section of his book and in its epilogue on "academic freedom," as occasionally throughout, he discusses and analyzes the attitudes and beliefs of the Liberal ascendency; but primarily *Revolt on the Campus* is a record of the achievement of the student conservative movement, together with a discussion of its theoretical foundations and its practical potentialities.

Revolt on the Campus, by M. Stanton Evans. Regnery, $4.50

The record is fascinating and contains a wealth of material, a good part of it new to me although I thought I was fairly well acquainted with the story. Successive chapters deal with the foundation and development of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists; the conservative student battle in support of the loyalty oath; the student movement for Goldwater in 1960; the foundation and mushroom-like growth of Young Americans for Freedom; the conservative challenge to the Liberal leadership of the National Student Association—the whole capped with a chapter devoted to the rising generation of writers, journalists and intellectuals, all of them in their twenties, whom the conservative student movement has nourished.

It is a richly absorbing story, full of event and personality, breathing an *esprit de corps*, reflecting a widespread net of friendship in common activity. Indeed, the only criticism I would make is that in his personal friendship and camaraderie in battle, Stanton Evans has perhaps shown too little discrimination in his judgment between those whom I know from personal acquaintance to be the outstanding leaders of the movement and the solid capable subalterns or the newer and less tried emergent leaders.

But *Revolt on the Campus* has a value which goes beyond the historical record. Its analysis of the beliefs which move the students who make up the conservative movement transcends the limits of the campus and is of the greatest importance to the whole American conservative movement. Mr. Evans comes to grips with the criticism so frequently levelled at American conservatives: that their belief in the primacy of individual freedom, in political liberty and limited government, in the free market economy, ill comports with conservative reverence for tradition and the imperatives of an organic moral law—that, in fact, these beliefs are not conservative at all, but derived from classical liberalism.

His answer (which from his documentation seems to be the answer of the overwhelming majority of those who make up the conservative student movement) is an answer eminently satisfactory to those of us who have for long been working to confute this attack: namely, that the student conservative movement, like the central tendency of contemporary American conservatism in general, is not an unprincipled combination of disparate elements; rather that it has consciously accepted the classical liberal emphasis on freedom while rejecting its "materialist and essentially amoral . . . justification of freedom on the grounds that it is productive of material benefits"; and that it bases its defense of freedom on the political level upon "the affirmation of a transcendent moral order" and a belief that "ours is a universe ruled by God."

Conservative in its insistence upon what the Sharon Declaration of Young Americans for Freedom affirmed as "eternal truths," it derives from this assertion of the essential bedrock of conservatism the conclusion (again in the words of the Sharon Declaration) "that foremost among the transcendent values is the individual's use of his God-given free will, whence derives his right to be free from the restrictions of ar-

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bitrary force," and furthermore that "political freedom cannot long exist without economic freedom."

To arrive at his conclusions concerning the beliefs of the leaders of the conservative student movement, Mr. Evans wrote to a considerable number of them. He quotes some ten of the answers he received—all of them of commendable depth of perception and all of them adumbrating in one way or another the synthesis he outlines. So excellent are they, particularly when considered as the statements of young men and women in their late teens or early twenties, that I want to present two of them as representative samples:

From Douglas C. Williams Jr., of Earlham College:

> The only basis of respect for the integrity of the individuality of the person and for the overriding value of his freedom is a belief in an organic moral order. Man's pursuit of virtue and the fulfillment of his duty to the moral order can be realized only in a political and economic condition of freedom. In the moral realm freedom is only a means whereby man can properly pursue his end which is virtue, and in the political realm freedom is the primary end.

From Paul V. Niemeyer, Kenyon College:

> My idea of conservatism arises from a belief in an absolute moral law which cannot be tested by scientific and epistemological questions. This law is a natural law of order given by God, and only to be recognized by man. Upon this law should the political order be founded. As far as we have discovered, this order is one in which government should *only* maintain a social and political condition, *i.e.*, external defense, internal order, and a homogeneous system of justice, in which individuals may live their lives based on their own thinking and deciding—the freedom required for morality. Consequently the criterion by which conservatives test government is how much freedom it will afford, which is little or no government in areas other than defense, justice, and internal order.

The verve and energy in organization and action, and the depth and maturity in philosophical understanding, portrayed in *Revolt on the Campus,* are high portents for the future of America. It is a book to be read for enlightenment, hope and courage by every conservative, one that well may cause dismay in the high towers of the Liberal Establishment.

Fiction

The View from Beneath

ROBERT O. BOWEN

THE DOMINANT THEME in American-Jewish literature has always been anti-Semitism, a fact Robert Penn Warren did not miss in scouting the market for his latest novel, *Wilderness.* His Jewish freedom fighter hero is drawn with all the subtle finesse of an Ayn Rand portrait. In case an occasional Liberal missed the big message, the author includes a full agenda of Negro lynching and flogging, assorted Negro baiting, the flogging of a troop follower, a fornication or two, a couple of cowardly Irish-American soldiers, and a warmed-over dab of cryptic idealism. So, the sum of Warren's latest in transition from Great American Novelist to tame hack for the borscht circuit.

Wilderness, by Robert Penn Warren. Random House, $4.95

A New Life, by Bernard Malamud. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, $4.95

Adrift in Soho, by Colin Wilson. Houghton Mifflin, $3.50

Wilderness is the story of Adam Rosenzweig, the crippled son of a Bavarian Jewish freedom fighter, who comes to the United States in 1863 as a mercenary to "fight for freedom" in the Union army. His orthodox uncle had told him in Europe that the only freedom earned among gentiles was "freedom to kill Jews," and Adam's only addition to this gem of wisdom is that there is also freedom to kill Negroes and white people. At best the story is a burlesque, cluttered with lynchings, floggings and mob scenes. Even General Grant obediently troops across the page for no purpose other than pure spectacle. The book suits two markets: first, readers too hotheaded for any judgment to intrude on them, and second, the Hollywood trade. The promotion is so obviously a sop flung to the *Exodus* trade that it ought to offend a Jewish reader with an IQ of over twelve. Chauvinism is bad enough from members of the family, but Warren's excesses find no apology.

At the opposite extreme is Bernard Malamud's *A New Life,* a realistic novel set in the microcosm of a Northwestern cow college English Department. Mr. Malamud's hero is a Jew casually, as a New Yorker might be, and that is that. Because of its slice-of-life tone this novel will probably be misread as pure *roman à clef,* a confusion furthered by *Time's* recent coverage of the author, who lately returned east after teaching English several years in an Oregon college. Mr. Malamud is not the awkward politician of his novel, nor did he leave his campus in any flurry of scandal.

Malamud writes in an idiom wrought from a Jewish past. Where the true Southerner naturally includes a steady flow of historical reference through metaphor, the Jewish writer often reflects Talmudic commentary. In *A New Life,* for instance, a summary of the hero's work about the yard includes "The past hides the present"; similar marginalia lend the novel a meditative quality uncommon in realistic novels.

Throughout Malamud's prose, both in *A New Life* and in his earlier novels, one incident after another debases idealizations articulated through the flesh. In *A New Life* the hero recognizes, after a long separation, that his lover is "still the mistress of the quick lay." Despite his idealized love, the book insists that all the fleshly world, her included, is somewhat raunchy.

The narrative is simple: Seymour Levin, a reformed drunk breaking into the university English-teaching racket, comes to a Northwestern state college from New York. Cast to fall, he falls. Between department politics and the seduction of—or by—his chairman's wife, he spends a busy season.

One could carp at the occasional stiff dialogue or the stuffy landscapes, but these do not seriously impede the movement of the story. The accurate reporting overbalances them anyway, for no university with a staff of over a dozen is free from

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public betrayal in this novel. No other American novel gives as clear a report of normal state university life in the usual administrative procedures of departmental espionage, blackmail, subordination, and assorted shenanigans.

LIKE *A New Life,* Colin Wilson's *Adrift in Soho* opens no new literary panoramas. This is the novel as journalism, the guided tour of an area rather than the inner light of an experience. It focuses around a young English literary bum, the socialist economy counterpart of those dregs

that people George Orwell's *Down and Out in London and Paris.* Wilson's young first-person narrator is bored but never agonized. What distinguishes him as an accurate news photo is his lack of both pride and place. He wanders up to the London slums in a vague literary bent, with a tiny inheritance, but he burns to produce no epic nor right any wrong. Rather he is bored at working in a factory and as a navvy. The book has the amoral and social attitudes of people without past or future. Illicit sex, marijuana and fraud are merely part of the boredom, along with painting and poetry. At least there is none of the phony Angry Young Man here. Instead we get the picture London has offered since World War II, a source of neither great suffering nor great joy, a world barren as a gutter.

Taken together, the three novels under review provide a sorry vision. In the Penn Warren potboiler only the Jew is sensitive enough to feel, and he finds hope a vicious illusion. In the Malamud novel the loved one is debased to "mistress of the quick lay" and such. In the Wilson book we browse a scurf of wine bottles, roaches and grit beneath which we do not probe. This is the vision modern critics have fostered and which the great foundations have encouraged. Bernard Malamud wrote *A New Life* on a handsome Ford Foundation grant; and Robert Penn Warren, to quote his publishers, "has been chosen to receive the highest honors that can be bestowed in America upon a man who is both a novelist and a poet." These books portray America as our literary elite see it or wish it seen, and from abroad we are offered Colin Wilson's picture of London to match.

This reviewer declines to share that view. Why must I see only injustice, lynchings and betrayal in the Civil War? Why must my vision of the London which heroically endured the Blitz be narrowed to a score of part-time Existentialists and con men? Why indeed must my vision of America today be a disillusioned picture of used mistresses and hypocritical professors? The question is not that two of the books reviewed here are at fault, but that they are restricted to minor segments of life and surely are not as significant as the current press acknowledges.

Is it wrong, this late, to ask why a year ago H. L. Davis, who wrote with sensitivity and hope about the American earth and the American folk, died relatively unlamented in American letters? Or why Caroline Gordon or Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings have never reached that critical zenith through their constructive vision of American life that J. D. Salinger and Carson McCullers are sustained at through their restricted talents in a distinctly destructive vision?

Men and Manners

Embattled Bookman

FINIS FARR

Traveling in the Far East some years ago, a man named Lyle Hugh Munson found it impossible to get books from American publishers. The more he thought of this, the more Munson saw the need of a distributing center that would undertake to send American books anywhere in the world by mail. Since no such business was in existence at the time, Munson decided to found it himself, and in 1953 he announced the start of what was to become a unique mail order service, with customers in all fifty states and 109 foreign countries. This is The Bookmailer of New York City, which has also become a publishing house with a bracingly non-conformist list of titles. Between selling books and printing them, the forty-three-year-old Munson puts in a seventy-hour work week that would dismay many a younger man, but on which he apparently thrives. As a bookman, he evidently belongs to the hardy breed of Henry Knox, the Bostonian who left his shop to take command of Washington's artillery.

Indeed, Munson has recently had more experience with artillery than is usual for a man of his calling, having been on the island of Quemoy last February at a time when Communist shells were pouring in. Munson had gone there to get material for his book *Who Will Volunteer?,* which is a vivid description in text and photograph of the calm heroism of the Chinese now living on Quemoy.

His hard anti-Communist conviction comes from a great deal of observed fact. A 1940 graduate of the University of Illinois, Munson served in the OSS during the war, and then for several years stayed in government service as an intelligence officer. During this time, he developed a theory of propaganda, which was to hit the enemy where it hurt, rather than apologize throughout the world that the United States still harbors a majority of citizens who hope their country will never resign its sovereignty to a cabal of socialist politicians in the United Nations. In order to help spread the views of others who shared this conviction, Munson decided within two years of founding The Bookmailer that he would publish books as well as distribute them. The result was the Free Enterprise Press, the Bookmailer's publishing arm.

First issue of Free Enterprise was *The Communist Party of the U.S.A.,* a document of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Not long afterward Munson brought out what

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has been his best seller to date, the account of Communist subversion by Judge Robert Morris, formerly counsel to the subcommittee, entitled *No Wonder We Are Losing*. Other widely selling titles from the dozens of successful books on the Free Enterprise list include Edward Hunter's *Black Book on Red China*; a compilation of proceedings by the Federal Constitutional Court of West Germany called *Outlawing the Communist Party*; a collection of American biographies by Holmes Alexander, and *The Enemy at His Back*, a book on Communist treachery by Elizabeth Churchill Brown. Munson also published *The John Franklin Letters*, a political fantasy that was extremely infuriating to the editors of the Communist paper, the *Worker*, because it depicted the United States as betrayed into captivity to the Chinese and Russians through the UN, but at last rescued by patriots who refuse to surrender to alien rules.

To the publication of this book there is an extraordinary postscript: Munson does not have to go all the way to Quemoy to come under fire. In February 1960, the *Worker* printed a five-column frothing-at-the-mouth diatribe against Munson and The Bookmailer. A few weeks later, unknown persons broke into and robbed the Bookmailer offices. In October 1960, someone threw a flaming Molotov cocktail into the Bookmailer stockroom. In March of 1961, a prowler tried to enter through the skylight at 2:30 in the morning, but was driven off by Munson, who unfortunately was not able to get a shot at the fellow. Last April and May, the *Worker* again printed an apoplectic attack on Munson as publisher of *The John Franklin Letters*. In June, the *Worker* published the address of new and larger quarters to which The Bookmailer had moved. Five days later, someone broke into the office at 4:00 in the morning. Munson, who had worked late and was sleeping at the office, routed the intruder, again without getting a clean shot at him.

Perhaps the nocturnal invasions of The Bookmailer, following on the hysterical outbursts of abuse in the *Worker*, may be put down to mere coincidence—and perhaps not. At any rate, it is interesting to note that things like this never seem to happen to OneWorld enthusiasts, Polaris submarine protesters, or United Nations fans. But there is plenty of Henry Knox in Lyle Munson. He says he wouldn't have it any other way.

The Art of Translation

Memory Refreshed

HUGH KENNER

Art feeds on past art: no more evidently than beneath the translator's hands. No one else confronts so directly the central artistic ritual, which is to confront our human past so far as we know it, repeat its rites and summon up its shades. For civilization is memory; translation is memory refreshed. Chapman, on behalf of Elizabethan England, drank the blood of the Greeks. Such a deed cannot be too often repeated; it is provincial to talk of some ideal translation toward which all approximations tend, and to achieve which would release us to do something else: provincial because the translator's finest performance still aims to be a homage, not an appropriation. When Bentley snubbed Pope's "very pretty poem" ("You must not call it Homer"), he convicted himself of the cheapest provinciality, which would prize facsimiles and counterfeits if it could only get someone to manufacture them.

The "inaccuracy" of Robert Lowell's *Phaedra*, therefore, is scarcely in question. Racine is simply a guise into which Mr. Lowell has conjured the devil he has been wrestling with all his poetic life: he pays Racine that great compliment. And the rhymes and the unbreakable dramatic structure are expedients for caging and encouraging the violence of language which his *Life Studies* (1959) held nearly mute, just beneath a catatonic surface. The version starts with a shout:

> No, no, my friend, we're off! Six months have passed
> since Father heard the ocean howl and cast
> his galley on the Aegean's skull-white froth.
> Listen! The blank sea calls us—off, off, off!
> I'll follow Father to the fountainhead
> and marsh of hell. We're off. Alive or dead
> I'll find him.

This continuous catachresis, everywhere impressive in quotation, even bursts free into cadenzas of elaboration, as Mr. Lowell strives to bring real before the mind shocking remote realities:

> Does he need helpers to share
> the plunder of his latest love affair;
> a shipload of spectators and his son
> to watch him ruin his last Amazon—
> some creature taller than a man, whose tanned
> and single bosom slithers from his hand,
> when he leaps to crush her like a waterfall
> of honeysuckle?

That Amazon and all the vivid circumstance Mr. Lowell has invented; in George Dillon's more circumspect version, we find simply:

> . . . who fathoms, who can say, if the King your father
> wishes the mystery of his absence known,
> or if, while we tremble for his life, that hero
> may not be hiding a new love affair,
> quietly waiting till some deluded woman—

If Mr. Lowell's is throughout a remarkable feat of rhetoric, Mr. Dillon's *Phaedra* (like his *Andromache* and *Britannicus*) is an equally remarkable feat of circumspect animation. He has elected for speed and clarity; his speed, of which short quotations can impart no notion, is his equivalent for Racine's impetuous dexterity with the French Alexandrine. Attempting only, he says, "a line-for-line translation that would be as *literal* as differences in idiom

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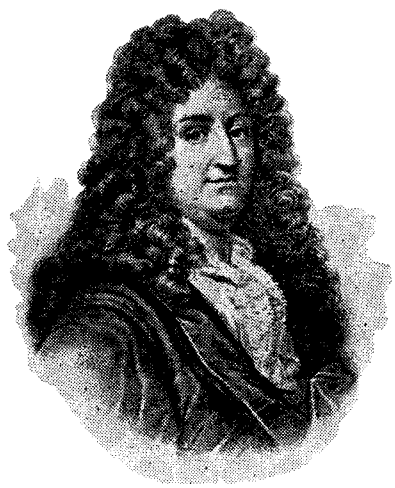
permit," he has simply abandoned everything that would interfere with the forward drive of statement and passion—including the rhymes, which in English pentameter simply happen too often and restrict the idiom too severely. His pentameter, lightened with many extra short syllables, is impetuous without contortion, and ceremonious without frigidity. It does not mumble, it does not seesaw.

Momentum, in such a version, is everything. It stands as a homage to Racine's strength of construction, which it displays with no recourse to local felicities, and to the expressive power of his themes, on which Mr. Dillon's prefaces have eloquent and sensible things to say. *Phaedra,* he notes, should have a special interest for us, since "it is concerned with the sense of guilt, which is thought to be our most frequent substitute for the conviction of sin. Here the emotion of guilt exists in an unqualified and unendurable form. It is the result of



Newly translated: Racine

no action whatever, but rather demands and induces an action that will be outrageous enough to justify it."

These words, in turn, help explain the appeal of this play for the author of *Life Studies,* and point up the dazzling opportunism of his twists of language. At the climax of Phaedra's despair, where she denounces her tempter, and through her tempter all those who (in Mr. Dillon's words)

> . . . nourish the frailty of unlucky princes,
> push them upon the leaning where they incline,
> and dare to smooth for them the unlawful road:

—just here Mr. Lowell with astonishing force evokes, in the twentieth century, more explicit images of sexual guilt:

> Panders who grease the grooves of inclination
> and lure our willing bodies from salvation.

If Racine would never have written this, it does not violate what we find in Racine. It is one kind of equivalent for Phaedra's rage, an epigram pregnant with defined revulsion. Mr. Dillon's is another kind of equivalent, rapidly invoking the majestic commonplaces of ruin, and elevating them above commonplace by sheer rapidity.

Art is imitation; and that two translations, neither of which could accommodate a line from the other, can imitate by such different means in 1961 a French work which in 1677 itself imitated Euripides' Greek: such facts suggest the boundless resourcefulness of the imitative faculty, and the depth of accessible experience we bear with us in the arts which are the collective memory of the West. When Gulliver encountered the Houyhnhnms, who have no letters and no past and suppose that the purpose of speech is to transmit information of facts, he proved to represent the civilization of Europe very poorly, for he shared in fact every one of the Houyhnhnms' assumptions. Educated chiefly in mathematics and in medicine, he had no resources with which to interpret the European present, which accordingly, the more he contemplated it, filled him the more with shame and helpless rage. He is European man deprived of his imaginative heritage, and so rendered helpless against mere bland reason; and very soon his speech comes to resemble the neighing of a horse, and back in England he retires for choice to the stable. "My horses understand me tolerably well; I converse with them at least four hours every day."

The art of verse translation is simply, intensified and explicated, itself the art of reading; the art of holding that intercourse with what our race knows and has known, which alone can guide fruitful dealings with its present behavior.

Movies

The Gospel According to MGM

FRANCIS RUSSELL

THEY ARE a hardy breed, these Biblical epics, and the formula has never changed since Cecil DeMille brought the celluloid tablets of the first *Ten Commandments* down from Mount Goldwyn. The formula is, of course, piety, sex and sadism. The problem is to mix these ingredients so that they will attract enough cash customers to pay off the multi-million dollar mortgage. So far they have paid off handsomely. The current *King of Kings* will do no less. Audience, producers, writers, all that throng of credit-names at the beginning of the picture, everyone is happy but the intellectuals—and they in any case don't go to 'epics.'

So stylized is the pattern by this time that the parts are interchangeable. In the Mark II or Mark III *King of Kings* now playing—I have long since lost track of the numbers—I noticed, as Herod, the equine-familiar face of Frank Thring whom I had last seen as Pontius Pilate in *Ben Hur.* And the courtyard of the Roman governor looked to me like the very gymnasium where I last saw Spartacus and his merry men having a work-out.

In the matter of sex the *King of Kings* is handicapped by a story that has to begin with the birth of the Child and end with the Crucifixion. It's not easy to tuck in the lubricity the way Cecil used to with the worship of the golden calf. Director Nicholas Ray has to make the most of the bare-bellied Salome and her ma. Salome, with rubber hip joints, is played as a little sex queen from North Hollywood High School by the sixteen-year-old Brigid Bazlen.

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Jeffrey Hunter is a blue-eyed Aryan Jesus, and yet one must say for him that he does better than might have been expected, playing the part woodenly—for he is that kind of actor—but with a saving discretion and reasonably good taste. Poor Siobhan McKenna as the Virgin Mary looks old enough to be St. Anne, and in spite of her Trinity (Dublin) accent gives more the impression of Mother Machree than the Mother of God. In any case the theological definitions have been pretty well toned down. That active but anonymous Hollywood board, "representative of all faiths," seems to be in fairly constant session these days, with the result that any religious or para-religious film has to be shaped to appeal to the Catholics and the Baptists without driving the Unitarians and the Christian Scientists from the theater, while at the same time taking care not to offend the Jewish community. This does, however, in the *King of Kings,* leave Jesus and his apos-tels (so pronounced) as the nucleus of a Judean Parent-Teacher Association rather than of a church.

JUST BEFORE World War II Noel Coward and Gertrude Lawrence appeared in a cockney vaudeville skit in which she remarked to him witheringly: "Ever think of going up to St. Paul's and offering to rewrite the Bible?" Himself unwithered, Philip Yordan, the script writer of the *King of Kings,* has taken Gertrude Lawrence literally in refurbishing the old story. At the outset, Pompey and his legions are shown moving into Judea like the *Einsatz* squads into Poland. They don't have the SS insignia on their shields, but they might as well have. There is enough slaughter here to satisfy even the most dubious free-thinker. Mr. Yordan has tied all the Biblical loose ends together, supplying the string wherever necessary.

Ever wonder about Pilate's wife? Really very simple, in the Yordanian canon. She was, it seems, the loose-living daughter of Tiberius, married beneath her status to the obscure Pontius Pilate who was willing to accept such baggage because he himself had Caesarean ambitions. As for Herod, he was literally booted off the throne of Herod Antipater. Barrabas, I discovered in three hours of sitting, was not the thief or murderer I had imagined since my Sunday School days but the intrepid and resourceful leader of the Jewish underground against the Romans. That is why the crowd shouted so loudly for his release. As for Judas, Mr. Yordan has done the best rehabilitation job since Kenneth Roberts took Benedict Arnold out of the cupboard and sent his old uniform to the cleaners. Judas wasn't really a traitor at all, but a sort of middleman between Barrabas and the apos-tels. Convinced that Jesus could command a miracle that would drive the legions back, Judas merely wanted to force his hand, to bring him into a united front with Barrabas. That was all there was to the betrayal, and the only villains in the piece were the Romans and a few quislings they had appointed.

Like various preceding epics, the *King of Kings* was filmed in Spain where the grass is always cheaper, the landscape less encumbered by telephone poles and where a non-unionized peasantry is always willing to volunteer for extra duty just for the fun of it. The extras are by far the best part of the film. Again I think of what a pleasant travelogue the whole thing might have been without the story.

I suppose if I should meet the trio of director, author and producer, they might ask me how I should handle it if faced with the problem of making or remaking the *King of Kings.* My answer would be that I should do nothing—and that to my mind is the only decent answer—but of course it isn't the answer on how to get the money back on a twelve million dollar investment. Across the aisle from me, at the matinee performance I attended, there was a clergyman wearing large purple cufflinks with enamelled crosses on them. They seemed somehow to go with the film.

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The UNIVERSITY BOOKMAN

Do Our Teachers Have To Live A Double Life?

"Yes," says Thomas Molnar writing in the current issue of *The University Bookman.* "It is an open secret that our grade- and high-school teachers are obliged to live an educational double existence: in one they absorb the educationalist non-sense and serve it up when examined by the officialdom; in the other, that is, when they face the pupils, they resort to common sense and accumulated experience, both of which flagrantly contradict the theories they must assimilate in order to qualify as teachers."

The first of two parts of "Un-Education" appears in the current Fall issue. The Fall issue also contains "Science in the Schools" by John Wisner, of Nashville, and "The Achievements of Irving Babbitt" by Milton Hindus, poet and critic, and professor of English at Brandeis University.

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BOOKS IN BRIEF

PROSPERITY THROUGH FREEDOM, by Lawrence Fertig (Regnery, $3.95) Somewhere in the chain of communication that takes its beginning in the speculations of the academy and works itself out in the actions and ballots of the electorate, one always finds the critical links—the translation, the serious polemic, the common-sense discourse, the reduction to practicality. In economic matters Lawrence Fertig has forged one of these links with this book, which rests on the thought of Ludwig von Mises as on a submerged foundation but tosses its truth and defiance into the winds of everyday controversy. What the master taught from the rigor of logic and the examination of history Fertig exemplifies from the daily press and often (as in his discussion of "foreign aid") with undeniable brilliance. But even Homer nodded. On page 101 we find Fertig describing the "consequent inflation" arising from "raising wages and prices," a heresy he abandons on page 185 when, analyzing a statement by Dwight Eisenhower, he says the former President was "really describing the *result* of inflation of the money supply, rising prices, not inflation itself." This slight lapse aside, the book stands whole and ready to serve—to serve the general public whose knowledge of economics has not begun; to serve businessmen and others who think economic policy may be divorced from political policy; to serve journalists and students and housewives and —could we hope so much?—to serve the Keynesian politicians themselves with the diagnosis and treatment of their idiocy. With it, Lawrence Fertig distills into a single offering the continuing economic wisdom his column has so long given us.

W. F. RICKENBACKER

LIVING FREE, by Joy Adamson (Harcourt, $5.95). Anyone the least familiar with cats will read this book heart-in-mouth. Elsa, you will remember, is the lioness raised by Joy and George Adamson in the Kenya bush. Now we see her as mother and lover while still remaining bosom pal of the Adamsons. Surely this is some sort of triumph in delicacy. Except for an occasional deafening roar, her lover remains essentially a private affair. Not so, the offspring. At a time strictly of her own choosing, she introduces Little Elsa, Gopa and Jespah to her human friends. Frequently, the initiative is Elsa's alone: a cub is slapped; Mrs. Adamson gets knocked down and sat upon. But mostly it's an affectionate, if hair-raising, relationship. For instance. When Elsa's British publisher comes to call, she pushes through the thorn barrier around his tent, jumps on top of him in bed, and begins to nibble his cheek bone. Pure affection? Mrs. Adamson is not sure. One thing, however, is. This book should be required reading for every expectant mother. There's no delinquency in *Elsa's* family.

W. H. VON DREELE

THE COMING FURY, by Bruce Catton (Doubleday, $7.50). In his previous half dozen or so bulky volumes on the Civil War, Pulitzer Prizewinner Bruce Catton mainly refought the battles. His researches have been extensive and—for those who can stomach his cloying style—he has been an interesting popularizer. In this book, the first of a multi-volume *Centennial History of the Civil War,* he seems to have shifted his attention to the political issues. (This fact need not unduly surprise the reader: we are informed that the project is undertaken in conjunction with the *New York Times.*) Politically, Catton is an orthodox Liberal, and, making generous use of hindsight, he ideologically updates the great struggle. It is a dramatic story, even in "modern dress." Civil War buffs, whose appetite for repetition is limitless, will enjoy this one, too. As for the propaganda content, it is not very damaging, since Catton is neither scholar nor thinker. Its main effect should be to mark Shelby Foote's Civil War trilogy (the second volume should be out before long) as by far the most important centennial history in the making.

J. P. MCFADDEN

CHECK-OFF

by Jameson G. Campaigne

author of

American Might and Soviet Myth

Jameson Campaigne's *Check-Off* exposes labor union bosses and their hoodwinked union members. The book is based on the McClellan Committee reports and gives a penetrating view of demagog leadership as it publicly "bleeds" for the wage earner. He then destroys their liberal-humanistic pretenses with an arsenal of facts that will be excellent munitions for the right and hard on the left.

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To the Editor

Another Grad

Re November 18 issue, editorial paragraph on Stalin—oops, Volgograd: Shostakovitch wrote the symphony about *Leningrad,* not Downgrad.

EDWARD R. DEITEMEIR JR.
Takoma Park, Md.

The Mont Pelerin Society

Russell Kirk's description of the Mont Pelerin Society [October 21] gives, no doubt inadvertently, a misleading picture of its "evolution." Since we were among the thirty-six participants at the conference which gave birth to the Society and have been members ever since, a few comments on its early position may be in order.

The participants at the initial conference were not generally characterized by any single position, let alone "rigid adherence to nineteenth-century Liberal dogmas and a rationalistic hostility toward Christianity." Although all shared a belief in the importance of preserving individual freedom and dignity, and all (save temporarily one!) wished to preserve the free market as a major instrument to this end, there was wide variation on the more immediate and specific questions of policy. Thus there were substantial differences on agricultural policy, on monetary and international trade policy in the postwar crisis, and—a strong minority of the participants were not economists—on political and philosophical questions. Religious questions were not raised at the initial conference and have not been since at any meeting that we have attended.

Indeed it was an explicit principle upon which Hayek (who was the founder of the Society in every sense) and others insisted, that tolerance and free discussion were as crucial within the Society as in the world. This has continued to the present day. The "shifts" which Mr. Kirk detects are only symptoms of the tolerance which has led to an enlargement of membership and the rotation of men in giving papers at the annual meetings. The "considerable and healthy range of opinions" which Mr. Kirk properly remarks has been much more prominent than any tendency to right or left, and neither Roepke's *Humane Society,* nor, what is a far stronger candidate, Hayek's *Constitution of Liberty,* can be regarded as a statement of the Society's view, since no such view exists.

AARON DIRECTOR
MILTON FRIEDMAN
GEORGE J. STIGLER
Chicago, Ill.

Strange Case of Dr. Colodny

In the interest of complete accuracy I would like to set the record straight on several points raised in your "Memo to the University of Pittsburgh" [November 18]:

1. You state that I, in the original *Pittsburgh Press* story on Dr. Robert G. Colodny last January 15, "raised the question whether it is just possible that Dr. Colodny joins Communist fronts because he is a Communist." In point of fact, I never raised such a question and, as a reporter, would never raise this kind of question in a news story. If Dr. Colodny has raised this question by his own words and deeds that is another matter, but one that does not involve me or my newspaper.

2. You state that the university "commission" appointed to investigate Dr. Colodny, a member of the Pitt History Department, "came through with a clean bill of health for the professor." The commission, or fact-finding committee, has never issued a statement on Dr. Colodny. They merely presented their voluminous findings to Dr. Edward H. Litchfield, chancellor of the university. He in turn "cleared" Dr. Colodny, saying that he based his report on the "unanimous conclusions" of his investigating committee. However, he refused to release the committee's findings and still has not done so.

3. Your story states that the *Pittsburgh Press* quote of Frank Meyer's statement on Dr. Colodny is not accurate. I am the reporter Mr. Meyer spoke to on the phone before he came to Pitt for the Oct. 3 debate. Mr. Meyer is correct in stating that he told me he had known Dr. Colodny

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as "an organized and disciplined (and dedicated) Communist" while he (Mr. Meyer) was a leader of the Communist Party. However, Mr Meyer requested the *Press* to say rather, that he had "known him [Colodny] well when we were both associated with Communist fronts in Chicago in the late 1930's." We acceded to Mr. Meyer's request for the simple reason that we interpreted his flat statement about knowing Dr Colodny as a Communist as confidential information.

Pittsburgh, Pa. WILLIAM GILL

Our "Memo" was ambiguously worded in suggesting that Mr. Gill "raised the question." We meant, as Mr. Gill hypothetically allows, that the question was raised by the facts that he reported. We are grateful for the clarification of the record of the strange case of Dr. Colodny which Mr. Gill supplies through points 2 and 3. —ED.

The Open Mind

The other day I gave to a co-worker of mine a copy of M. Stanton Evans' article, "Soviet Space Claims" [October 21]. My friend attends night classes at Hofstra College on Long Island, another of our more Liberal institutions of learning (are there any other kind?), and thought this might be an interesting topic of discussion. When his professor of economics saw that it was NATIONAL REVIEW that this article emanated from, he said that he wasn't interested in anything from such a terrible journal, a journal that sees fit to print just garbage.

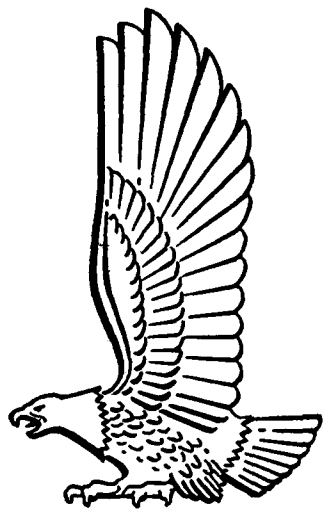
I thought you might be interested in another instance of open-mindedness on the part of our eggheads.

Bethpage, N.Y. CHARLES G. CATALANO

Method and Matter

Frank S. Meyer ["Principles and Heresies," November 4] gives what purports to be a resumé of the article "Death in the Nuclear Age," which I published in the September issue of *Commentary*. He also addresses himself to an article by Robert A. Nisbet which appeared in the same issue of the same magazine.

"The conclusion," Mr. Meyer says, "to be drawn from Morgenthau's article and Nisbet's, taken together, is clear . . . accommodation is obviously the right and politic course. But in the real world, this is a course



"We are living in a world and in a time when powerful leaders with millions of fanatical followers are committed to the forcible regimentation of their fellow men, according to formulas which have no initial authority but that of their own private dogmatism. They not only refuse to recognize the right of private thought and personal conscience to be considered in the management of public affairs, but they have abolished the concept of the individual as a private personality and have reduced him to the level of the bee in the hive. To restore the individual to his former dignity as a human being is the urgent need of the day."

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that can lead only to surrender and Communist world domination."

Let me make two points, one concerning procedure; the other, substance. It ought to be obvious that I can be held responsible only for what I have said while Mr. Nisbet can be held responsible only for his own article. To combine two articles by two different authors dealing with quite different topics and arriving at certain conclusions for which both authors are held responsible is certainly a most extraordinary and indefensible procedure.

As concerns substance, the main point I was trying to make was the qualitative difference between death in the pre-atomic age, such as the death of Christ, or Socrates, or Leonidas, and death in the nuclear age, such as the instantaneous incineration, say, of eight million New Yorkers. I have no quarrel with someone who is incapable of understanding this difference. But it is mere malicious distortion to conclude from this philosophic argument that my position amounts to surrender to Communism. I have always maintained, for the first time in the January 1956 issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* in an article entitled "Has Atomic War Really Become Impossible?", that atomic war is an absurdity—an opinion shared by Generals Bradley, Eisenhower and MacArthur—but that we nevertheless might be compelled to fight such a war.

Chicago, Ill. HANS J. MORGENTHAU

Mr. Meyer Replies

Professor Morgenthau calls me to task on two counts, procedural and substantive.

1. As to procedure: in the column to which he refers, I was concerned primarily neither with him nor with Dean Nisbet, but with the development of an American movement towards surrender—and in particular with the role the journal, *Commentary*, under its present editor, Norman Podhoretz, is playing in the intellectual development of that movement. The juxtaposition of Professor Morgenthau's article and Dean Nisbet's in its September issue seemed to me striking evidence of this development; and it was in this light that I discussed the two articles. This is a procedure that would only be reprehensible if in the course

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of writing I did serious injustice to the import of either of the articles concerned—in this case, Professor Morgenthau's. But it is my contention that, even taken by itself, Professor Morgenthau's article is significant of the intellectual movement towards surrender now developing in the United States.

2. Which brings me to the substance of his article: Its basic contention is that since "we" no longer believe in immortality (nor, apparently, even in the Stoic or humanist morality that to do what is right is right and honorable), war today is —under any circumstances—absurd. This thesis is little modified by his acceptance of the *fact* that, absurd or not, we may be "compelled" to fight. For this is a fact which is not a fact. If we are not willing to risk war by our own volition under any circumstances, there will be no circumstances in which we will be compelled to fight; the enemy is shrewd and capable and determined upon his end—and he is willing to risk war. If we are never willing to, he will move, as he has done, from success to success, without ever "compelling" us to fight. He will ungraciously accept our piecemeal surrender.

Certainly I do not accuse Professor Morgenthau of consciously desiring surrender to Communism. But I do insist that freedom can never be preserved without a willingness to risk war if need be; that willingness to risk war presupposes the most likely belief that it is our duty to do the right and that it is the part of men to face death honorably. To deny the possibility of death with honor because of the technological horrors of the nuclear age; to ignore the overwhelming question of our obligation to defend the right come what may: this is truly to make armed resistance to Communism absurd—and therefore to open the road towards surrender to Communism.

Woodstock, N.Y. FRANK S. MEYER

Goals on Target

Victor Gold certainly scored a "touchdown" with his article: "Football is a Lonely Battle" [November 4]. His "field goals" were right on target too—pointing up the folly of a defensive policy for the U.S. and the West, while the Kremlin plays the game to win!

Woodside, N.Y. LEDWIN M. SHANAHAN

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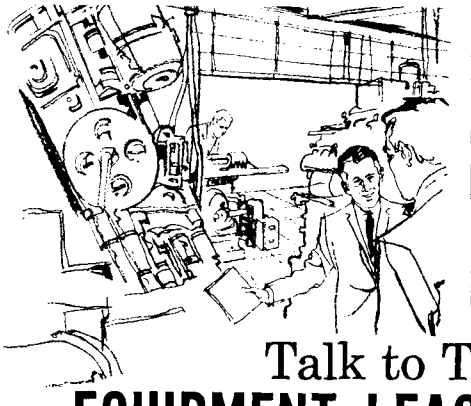

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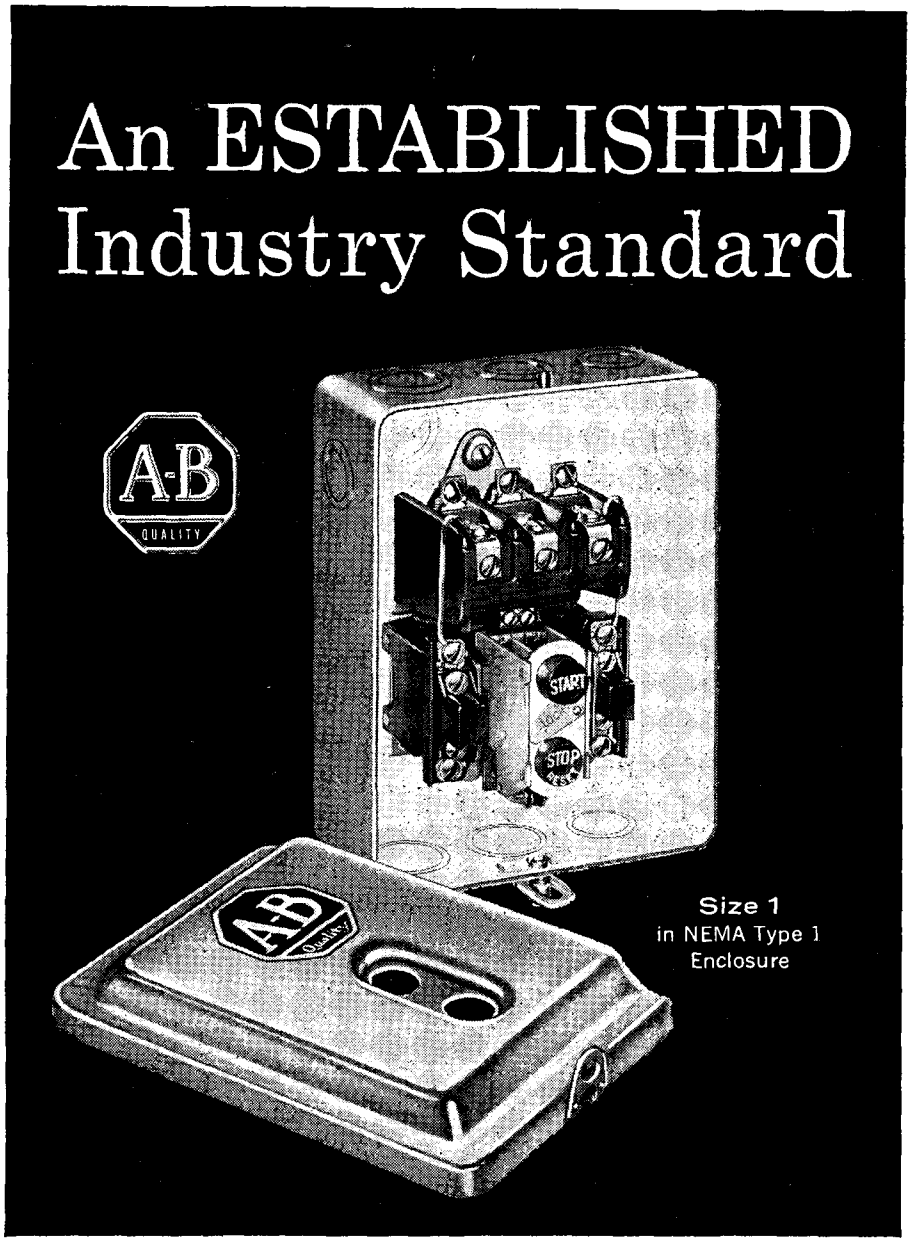

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THE FRENCH

(Continued from p. 380)

lessly allowed to slip through their fingers, according to the coroner who insisted that, integrated, there had once been 63 kilos of her.

To be sure, a trip like ours devoted to elevated linguistic studies, does prolong one's readjustment to everyday life. Just a few minutes ago, for instance, I (correctly, it turned out) accused young Buckley Heath of throwing an apple through the oriental window of my bedroom: and I hear that only last week Priscilla assured the janitor of 150 E. 35th Street that NATIONAL REVIEW'S personnel is, to a man, defended to fling foreign bodies into the toilet.

Still, when friends glance quickly at your hips and remark that travel is *so* broadening, it is nice to be able to say: "Sacred Blue! In France, the paste of fat liver alone on the host-table, makes the life in rose worth the pain!"

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

(Continued from p. 379)

by Liberals? No doubt; but favoring reforms, even reforms favored by Liberals, can hardly be the final criterion. It was Burke who defined the "standard of a statesman" as "a disposition to preserve and *an ability to improve*" (my emphasis). Without necessarily endorsing all of Niebuhr's political judgments on current questions, I submit that Niebuhr's general outlook pretty well meets the Burkean standard.

The affinity between Niebuhr and Burke is not merely an agreement on political outlook; it goes deeper, for the political philosophies of both men are rooted in a profound Christian understanding of the nature of man in society. Both know man in his self-transcendence and his self-will, and human society in its cohesion and conflict; both see man and society in their full historicity, and take with utmost seriousness the operations of original sin in the historic life of mankind. Both, in short, understand man—political man, in particular—realistically, in his heights and his depths, in his grandeur and his misery, in his possibilities and his limitations. And to understand man thus is to be a conservative in the Burkean line.

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